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DINNER

TO THE

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HON. DANIEL WEBSTER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS:

BY

THE MERCHANTS, AND OTHER CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA,

DECEMBER 2, 1846,

WITH

MR. WEBSTER'S SPEECH.

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PHILADELPHIA:

CRISSY & MARKLEY, PRINTERS.

1847.











*David Webster*

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## The Tribute to Mr. Webster.

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THE greatness of true Statesmanship—the excellence of sterling Patriotism, at all times, challenge high regard, and of right, demand from those who have been benefited by their exercise, not only a public recognition of their value; but a return, also, in some degree, as an evidence of grateful feeling.

Military greatness, is too frequently a thing of rapid growth; a consequence, often, of chance, and liable to be dimmed by the same causes which contributed to lend it temporary lustre. But the glory which is the reward of the statesman, is slowly yielded, even by those who are best served; and the consideration and respect due to those naturally fitted to direct and control the destinies of a nation, are not given until there is in every heart the assurance that they are well deserved. Peace and her victories, do not strike, at once, upon the sense, with the greatness of their results; and men look back from present prosperity, to a time of trouble and danger, in order to be assured that the *civilian* has done more by preserving, enlarging and improving, than the *soldier* by depriving or destroying.



#### IV

Among the statesmen of our country, DANIEL WEBSTER has taken a foremost position, and but few of those who have striven with him in the mighty efforts of intellect, which have brought lustre upon his name, and added honor to the nation, have done so much for the true interests of the people, or contributed so largely to the perpetuity of peace. He has met and grappled difficulties that seemed overshadowing the land—pregnant with omens of war; and under his careful guidance, the calm light of peace has again been diffused where it seemed almost extinguished. He has soothed the angry feelings of the nation without abating its honor, and added to its dignity, by sustaining with the ability which belongs only to the highest powers, and the most enlarged intellect, the claims of the country, both abroad and at home. He has become a pillar of strength in defence of our National Constitution, and aided, with wise forecast, to throw around our Commerce and Manufactures, the guards and defences which have protected them while feeble, and aided them in prosperous maturity.

He has become a citizen of the country, and has won a place in the hearts of our people. New Hampshire may point with exultation to his birth-place among her granite hills, and Massachusetts claim him as her favorite son; but Pennsylvania, and every State in the Confederacy, has a claim upon his matchless mind, and a pride in his broadly diffused fame. The services which have made his name illustrious, were for the Union, and the NATION yields him the precious gift of gratitude for what he has accomplished for her permanent good.

No class of our people has derived more benefit from his far-seeing wisdom, than the mercantile community; and the merchants of Philadelphia, in tendering to him a token of their appreciation of his great acts, have but rendered him just honor, while, at the same time, they have drawn to themselves the commendation of

the entire class of our people, whom they represent. It was not to subserve political or sectional views, that they proffered the festivity, of which record is made in the following pages. It was with no view to bias his feelings, or tempt him to the advocacy of plans, specially to benefit the community, in the midst of which he was honored. It was for what had been accomplished—for the services of years, and in thankfulness for the substantial good which had inured to the commerce and manufactures of the nation, as a consequence of his efforts. Calm judgment, uninfluenced by political hopes or fears, or political expediency, approved the manifestation of feeling, and Mr. Webster was made the recipient of a moral homage, most acceptable, because it is rarely won or tendered.

The festivity was one to be remembered, and in the record of all that properly belongs to it, which follows, an endeavor has been made to convey some idea of the spirit in which the compliment was offered, and of the manner in which it was rendered.

## PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.

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ON the 25th of April last, a meeting of the merchants and other citizens, subscribers to the call for a Dinner to the HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, was held at the Philadelphia Exchange.

On motion of Mr. John H. Martin,  
DAVID S. BROWN, Esq., was called to the Chair, and  
DR. GEORGE McCLELLAND appointed Secretary.

The Chairman having stated the object of the Meeting,  
Mr. SAMUEL C. MORTON, offered the following Preamble and Resolutions.

WHEREAS, a number of the citizens of Philadelphia are anxious to tender a public dinner to the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, as an evidence of their appreciation of his great public services,

*Resolved*, That a Committee of General Superintendence be appointed, to consist of twenty-four subscribers, with power of substitution, and to increase their number to any extent they may deem necessary.

*Resolved*, That said Committee be instructed to correspond with the Honorable Daniel Webster, and make all suitable preparations for the occasion.

## VII

*Resolved*, That the following named gentlemen be appointed said Committee, viz. :

Henry White,	Joseph B. Myers,
Charles W. Churchman,	Thomas Chambers,
David S. Brown,	John Rice,
Alfred L. Elwyn,	John McCandless,
Jacob M. Thomas,	Frederick Fraley,
Singleton A. Mercer,	William Struthers,
John H. Martin,	John S. Riddle,
Alexander H. Freeman,	Sampson Tams,
Thomas Smith,	William D. Lewis,
Isaac R. Davis,	William E. Whelan,
George McClelland,	Samuel Haddock, Jr.,
John Ashhurst,	William Bargh.

In accordance with its assigned duty, the Committee met, and addressed to the Hon. Daniel Webster, the following letter :—

PHILADELPHIA, April 27th, 1846.

DEAR SIR :—Your fellow citizens of this city, desirous of expressing their friendly regard and admiration of your services to your country, tender to you a public dinner, to be given at a time the most convenient to yourself.

Nearly all who offer this mark of esteem, are men of business, removed from the party strifes of the country, though deeply interested and affected in all their relations, by the action and agitation of party ; with these your name has long been associated as one of those, whose advice, whether heeded or not ; whose abilities, whether successfully exerted or not ; were always directed towards the advancement of their interests, and always, in their opinion, tending to the enhancement of their prosperity. They offer to you this token of respect, as an evidence, not only of personal esteem, but as a mark of sincere and grateful feeling.

# VIII

But in this expression of regard, they will not limit themselves to what may be considered as more peculiarly their interests. As members of this great Republic, they desire in this way, to express their approbation and pride in those efforts, that have multiplied and strengthened our ties with the family of nations; that have increased and made more stable, as well as intimate, our own national sympathies; and which, by extending your reputation, have given credit and fame to your country.

None cherish, with more interest, these, the lasting memorials that you have given of your patriotism and devotion to the welfare of your fellow citizens, than those, who now tender this token of their esteem.

We have the honor to be,  
With the highest respect,  
Your friends and fellow citizens,

Henry White,	Alfred L. Elwyn,
Jacob M. Thomas,	Charles W. Churchman,
George McClelland,	David S. Brown,
Isaac R. Davis,	John S. Riddle,
William D. Lewis,	Frederick Fraley,
John Rice,	John Ashhurst,
William E. Whelan,	Alexander H. Freeman,
John H. Martin,	Joseph B. Myers,
John McCandless,	Singleton A. Mercer,
Thomas Smith,	Thomas Chambers,
William Struthers,	Sampson Tams,

Daniel Haddock, Jr.

To this letter, Mr. Webster made the following reply in acceptance of the invitation.

WASHINGTON, May 1st, 1846.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, of the 27th of April, inviting me to a public dinner, in Philadelphia.



## IX

The character of this invitation, as well as the friendly manner in which it is expressed, give it a peculiar claim on my regard ; and render it indeed, on my part, not easy to be declined.

You describe those whom you represent, or who join you in this mark of respect, as “ men of business, removed from the party strifes of the country, though deeply affected and interested in all their relations, by the action and agitation of party movements.”

I deem it a high honor, Gentlemen, to be requested by such men, to accept a mark of their esteem ; and when my public duties shall allow, I will gladly meet you and your friends, on such day as may suit your convenience.

We are in the midst of all the business of one of the most important sessions of Congress, which have been holden under the Constitution.

During its continuance, I shall hardly be able to leave the duties of my place, even for a few days ; but after its conclusion, if you will allow me, I will confer with you upon the time for carrying your very respectful purpose into effect.

I am, Gentlemen,

With entire regard,

Your obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

To Messrs. A. L. Elwyn, C. W. Churchman, D. S. Brown, and other Gentlemen of the Committee.

The acceptance having been received, the General Committee of Superintendence reassembled, and organized by the choice of the following officers :—

HENRY WHITE, *Chairman*.

JACOB M. THOMAS, *Treasurer*.

DANIEL HADDOCK, }  
WILLIAM BARGH, } *Secretaries*.

Being thus constituted, and the manner of providing the entertainment, being under consideration, it was resolved to appoint the following Committees, with large powers, so as to secure an effective discharge of required duty :—

COMMITTEE ON INVITATIONS.

Charles W. Churchman,	Singleton A. Mercer,
Dr. George McClelland,	David S. Brown,
Dr. Alfred L. Elwyn,	John Rice,
Jacob M. Thomas.	

COMMITTEE TO PREPARE DINNER AND MAKE ARRANGEMENTS,

Henry White,	John H. Martin,
John Ashhurst,	John McCandless,
William E. Whelan,	William Struthers,
Daniel Haddock, Jr.,	Frederick Fraley,
Thomas Smith,	John S. Riddle,
Alexander H. Freeman,	Isaac R. Davis,
Thomas Chambers,	William D. Lewis,
Joseph B. Myers,	Sampson Tams.

These Committees immediately proceeded to fulfil the duties entrusted to them, and a large and liberal preparation was the consequence of their exertions. The first in its gathering together many of the most eminent merchants and friends of Commerce, in the country; and the last in the noble feast at which the distinguished Guest was honored.

The Committee on Invitations, with a proper view of their duty, addressed letters to the following distinguished gentlemen, requesting their presence at the festival :—

Philip Hone,*	Simeon Draper,
R. M. Blatchford,*	Edward Curtis,*
Moses Grinnell,	Hiram Ketchum,*
Charles King,*	Samuel Jaudon,*

Commodore Stewart,	T. T. H. McKennon,
J. Prescott Hall,	Roswell L. Colt,*
Nathan Appleton,	Thomas Corwin,
James W. Paige,	J. J. Crittenden,
Abbott Lawrence,	Thomas Butler King,
Robert C. Winthrop,*	Samuel J. Vinton,
Col. Thomas Perkins,	R. C. Schenck,
Rufus Choate,	George T. Curtis,
Fletcher Webster,*	Nathan Hale, <sup>1</sup>
Thomas J. Stevenson,	J. T. Buckingham, <sup>2</sup>
Charles H. Warren,*	Wm. Hayden, <sup>3</sup>
Washington Hunt,	Charles C. Stratton,
George Ashmun,*	Andrew Stewart,*
George Evans,	Isaac Munroe, <sup>4</sup>
Charles T. Paine,	J. Brooks,* <sup>5</sup>
James Wilson,*	John Inman, <sup>6</sup>
W. W. Seaton,*	Horace Greeley,* <sup>7</sup>
Z. Collins Lee,*	Charles Stetson,
Reverdy Johnson,	Alexander Ramsay,*
J. P. Kennedy,*	Freeman Hunt,*
James Lyons,	Truman Smith,*
John S. Skinner,*	

Of these, the gentlemen whose names are marked with an asterisk, signified their acceptance, and were, with but one or two exceptions, present at the dinner.

The Committee to cause the Entertainment to be prepared, and to make the necessary arrangements, fixed upon the great Saloon of the Museum Building, as the place wherein the dinner should take place, and also entrusted to *Messrs. Bagley, McKenzie & Co.*, the proprietors of the "Columbia House," in this city, the duty

1 Daily Advertiser, *Boston*.

2 Courier, *Boston*.

3 Atlas, *Boston*.

4 Baltimore Patriot, *Baltimore*.

5 Express, *New York*.

6 Editor Commercial Advertiser.

7 Editor of the New York Tribune.

## XII

of providing the Entertainment throughout, giving liberal and extensive orders, which were promptly and properly carried out.

It having been determined that the ladies should share in the pleasure of the festal evening, a proper disposition of seats in the galleries was made, and the Chinese Saloon, beneath the apartment in which the dinner was given, prepared for their reception, until the hour fixed for their admission to the galleries. These and many minor duties, were faithfully discharged, and with such comprehensiveness of action, and exercise of judgment, that the festivity proceeded without the unpleasantness of the manifestation of incomplete preparations.

The Dinner was fixed to take place on the Second of December, and the HON. SAMUEL BRECK was chosen as the Presiding Officer; to be aided by the following gentlemen, as Vice-Presidents :—

HENRY WHITE,

JOHN RICE,

THOMAS CHAMBERS,

JOSEPH G. CLARKSON,

FREDERICK FRALEY,

DR. J. RODMAN PAUL,

JOSEPH RIPKA.

## THE DINNER.

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FEW demonstrations of public attachment to ONE who has filled no other stations than those which are the most eminent in civil life, have been attended with so much of brilliancy, have been made so effectively imposing, or have carried to the hearts of those who witnessed it, a more impressive idea of the value of the gratitude of a community or class, than the festival at which DANIEL WEBSTER sat, in honorable eminence, as the guest of the merchants of Philadelphia. He had won his right to this consideration, by services of the most enlarged and valuable nature, by the exercise of a wisdom, profound and far-seeing, and by the timely exhibition of acquired talents and learning, in defence of the people of this country. And to no class of our people had his labors been more directly beneficial, than to the merchants; to the protection of whose interests he has stood firmly, at all times. It was just to him—it was just to themselves, therefore, that the merchants of this city should recognize these services, and make an endeavor to exhibit, in feeling at least, an evidence of their appreciation of the value of his labors in their behalf.

It was a pleasing sight to see the immense saloon, when made ready for the entertainers and the entertained. Eight tables were arranged in three rows, nearly two hundred feet in length, each, along the floor of the saloon; the centre table on the north, being elevated considerably above the rest. This was appropriated to



the President of the Day, the Great Orator, and a number of invited guests—covers being laid for twenty persons. In front of this elevation, the Committee, and their table was adorned with a superb confection, in the form of a Temple of Liberty, several feet high, curiously constructed in sugar. On each face of the octagonal base, within a wreath of laurel leaves, appeared the cyphers, "D. W." in gold, and on every pinnacle, some device, very tastefully formed. The summit of the temple was crowned with a Cap of Liberty, and the effect of the ornament was, in the highest degree, pleasing. Along the tables, other ornaments in sugar, of the most elaborate and beautiful designs, shot up in graceful elegance, from amid the well arranged mass of delicate viands, with which the board was loaded. Many of these ornaments were perfect triumphs of *patisserie*, and they agreeably interrupted and relieved the view. The elevated table was adorned in exquisite taste, and its effect was very imposing. Two magnificent marble vases, filled with the rarest exotics, vied, in effect, with a pair of superbly wrought Hebe wine vases, several feet in height; and these prominent objects of beauty were neighbored by pyramids of fruits, in chrystals chastely arranged. A large cake surmounted by a statue of Washington beneath a curiously open-worked canopy of sugar, above which appeared the American eagle, was also upon this table. Beside each plate the *carte du diner*, exquisitely printed in gold colors, was laid, and the selection of dishes comprised all the varieties of the table. Nothing was wanting to make the festivity acceptable to the senses; and the liberal caterers had no cause to regret the nature or the extent of their preparation.

Chairs were set for five hundred and eighty-six persons, and liberal regard was had for the comfort of all. At four o'clock every seat was occupied, save those of the Guests and the Committee; and when, at last, Mr. Webster appeared, with Mr. Breck, the President of the Day, and followed by the invited Guests and the Committee, the whole mass in the saloon rose to their feet and saluted the distinguished Statesman with cheers that must have rung proudly in his ears. The welcome was heart-warm, and the generous tribute of gratitude was expressed in the united impulse with which the cheers were uttered.

The dinner was soon discussed, and so great was the anxiety to hear Mr. Webster, that the choice dessert was only partially brought upon the table, and shortly after five o'clock, the cloth was removed.

Pleasant as had been the festivity, it was, at this moment, made more acceptable; for the Ladies came thronging into the galleries, which were quickly filled by the beauty and fashion of the city. It was a glorious constellation, and the gentlemen rose from their seats as they came in, and cheered with a zeal and fervor, that indicated how much they prized the honor done them—how much they aided to honor Mr. Webster, by their presence. It was an unusual but most delightful feature in a public entertainment, and imparted a keener point and zest to the enjoyment of the evening.

About six o'clock, the President announced the first regular toast, as follows:

*The Union*—The experience of the ancient Republics demonstrated its necessity. The benefits it has conferred upon our country require that it shall be now and forever, one and inseparable.

It was received and honored with warm cheers, as also was the second, which was as follows:

*A Protective Tariff*—The peaceful power of the nation, preserving its independence and sustaining its Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures.

The third toast having direct reference to the distinguished GUEST, in whose honor the great assemblage was convened, Mr. Breck arose, and happily introduced it with the following remarks:

Gentlemen:—I rise to propose a toast, expressive of the great esteem and honor in which we hold the illustrious Guest, whom we are assembled to welcome. It is cause for felicitation to have this opportunity to receive him, and to meet him at our festive board.

In Philadelphia, we have long been accustomed to follow him, with earnest attention, in his high vocations, in the legislative hall and in the cabinet; and have always seen him there, exercising his great talents, for the true interests of our wide-spread Republic. And we, in common with the American people, have felt the influence of his wisdom and patriotism.

When rulers, not ashamed to become sinners, have clogged, by their ignorance and wickedness, the wheels of government, we have listened to his warning voice. In those seasons of danger, he has been to us a living comforter; and more than once, has restored this nation to serenity, security and prosperity.

In a career of more than thirty years of political agitation, he, with courageous constancy, unwavering integrity, and eminent ability, has carried out, as far as his agency could prevail, the true principles of the American system of government.

For his numerous public services we owe him much, and we open our grateful hearts to him, in thanks; we say to him, with feelings of profound respect and warm affection, that we are rejoiced at his presence here, amid his Philadelphia friends—his faithful Philadelphia friends and admirers.

I offer you the health of

*Daniel Webster*—The faithful Representative, the able Negotiator, the fearless Statesman, the eloquent Defender of the Constitution: His patriotic services demand our gratitude—his untarnished honor is the Nation's property.

Mr. Breck was frequently obliged to pause in his remarks, by the loud applauses of the assemblage; and when, in concluding, he introduced the distinguished GUEST, the feeling rose into perfect enthusiasm, and the cheers, clapping of hands, the smiles and waving handkerchiefs of the ladies, made the universal demonstration of welcome as rare and honorable as it was well deserved, and worthily given. It must have stirred the pulses of his heart to a quicker throb; and when he cast his eyes over the vast mass, swayed by one strong impulse, and thundering out a welcome; and upon the fair array of beauty gathered to render him special honor—he must have enjoyed feelings of the most enviable character.

It was some minutes before his voice could be heard, and then Mr. Webster spoke as follows:—

## MR. WEBSTER'S SPEECH.

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It is my duty in the first place, to express the uncommon emotions which I feel, in rising to discuss important subjects in a presence, like that in the midst of which I am. It has not been my fortune, heretofore, to enter upon such a duty as is now before me, while galleries like these have been filled by an assemblage of the worth and beauty of the sex. Gentlemen, I come among you to address you as men of business of the city of Philadelphia, men engaged in the honorable pursuits of private life, and having no other interest in the political events and occurrences of the day, than as the course and acts of Government, affect life and liberty, property and industry. You are merchants, you are therefore deeply concerned in the peace of the country, and in whatever respects its commercial prosperity. You are manufacturers, mechanics, artizans; you have an interest, therefore, in all those wise laws which protect capital and labor thus employed—all those laws which shed their benign influence over the industrial pursuits of human life. You are holders of city property—many of you are landholders in the country—many of you are occupiers and cultivators of your own land in the neigh-

borhood of the city. Finally, I know you are all Americans—you are all members of this great and glorious Republic—bound to its destiny—partaking of all the happiness which its government is calculated to afford, and interested in every thing that respects its present prospects and its future renown.

I am honored, gentlemen, by an invitation to address such an assemblage of my fellow citizens. I will say that it is always agreeable to me to speak, and to think, upon great questions, respecting our political institutions—their progress and their results, in this city of Philadelphia. With no habits of public life, but such as have connected me with the Constitution of the United States—accustomed somewhat to study its history and its principles, and called upon now, for some years, to take a part in its administration, so far as the action of Congress is concerned, it is natural that I should look back to the origin of that Independence, from which the Constitution sprung, and to the Constitution itself, out of which the Government, now established over us, arose. These reflections bring with them agreeable local associations. The Independence of our country was declared in yonder Hall, the Constitution was framed, also, within the same venerable walls; and if one to whom that declaration of Independence and that Constitution are objects of the highest human regard enter that Hall, it is natural that he should gather around him, in imagination, the great men—the illustrious sages, who filled it on those successive occasions. They are all gone to their graves. But they have left their works behind them, as imperishable memorials of their wisdom. (*Loud applause.*)

The city of Philadelphia is, in all respects, much connected with the history of our country. (*Applause.*) She is, in all respects, interested in whatever affects the weal or woe of the Republic. Her position along the line of the coast is central and important, her



population is large, the occupations of her people various—she is the capital of the great State of Pennsylvania, not improperly called the “KEYSTONE” of the arch of this Union. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, some years ago in addressing a public meeting in the neighborhood of this city, I said what I believed and now believe, that, perhaps with the exception of England, there is no spot upon the globe full of so much natural riches as the State of Pennsylvania. Gentlemen, she enjoys a mild and delightful climate, a rich and exuberant soil, one of the best in the world, with mineral wealth beyond calculation. I know no portion of the globe that can go beyond her in any just statement of natural advantages, and of productive power. Pennsylvania, too, gentlemen, is concerned in every interest that belongs to the country. On her eastern boundary she touches the tide waters of the Atlantic—on her western border she touches the great river which carries, westward and southward, her products raised, beyond the Alleghenies, to the Gulf of Mexico. She is open to the Gulf on the south and west, and to the ocean on the east. Her position is central, her population is numerous. If she chooses to say that she will connect the navigable waters which flow into the Gulf, with the navigable waters of the Atlantic, she can do it, without trespassing on any stranger’s territory. (*Tremendous applause.*) It is with her a family affair. She has made one line of communication, she can make another, and as many as she please, to wed the waters of the Ohio with those of the Atlantic.

Gentlemen, I cannot help thinking that what Pennsylvania is, and that greater, which Pennsylvania is to be, is and will be greatly owing to the constitutional Government under which we live. (*Great applause.*) I would not, with any idolatrous admiration, regard the Constitution of the United States, nor any other work of man; but, this side of idolatry, I hold it in profound respect. I

believe that no human working on such a subject—no human ability exerted for such an end, has ever produced so much happiness, or holds out, now, to so many millions of people the prospect, through such a succession of ages and ages, of so much happiness, as the Constitution of the United States. (*Great applause.*) We who are here for one generation—for a single life, and yet in our several stations and relations in society, entrusted, in some degree, with its protection and support—what duty does it devolve; what duty does it *not* devolve upon us?

Gentlemen, there were those in the country at the time the Constitution was adopted, that did not approve it. Some feared it from an excessive jealousy of power; others, for various causes, disliked it. The great majority of the people of the United States, however, adopted it, and placed WASHINGTON at the head of the first administration of the Government. (*Loud applause.*) This constitution fairly expounded, justly interpreted, is the bond of our Union. Those who opposed it were all bound, in honor and justice, to follow the example of Patrick Henry, who, himself, opposed it, but who, when it had been adopted, took it in the fullness of its spirit, and to the highest extent of its honest interpretation. (*Great applause.*) It was not, then, fair for those who had opposed the adoption of the Constitution, to come in under it, afterwards, and attempt to fritter away its provisions, because they dislike them. The people had adopted the instrument, as it stood, and they were bound by it, in its fair and full construction and interpretation. (*Applause.*) For the same reason, gentlemen, those called upon to exercise high functions under the Constitution, in our day, may think that they could have made a better one. It may be the misfortune of the age of our fathers, that they had not the intelligence of this age. (*Laughter.*) These persons may think that they could have made it much better,—that this thing and that,

ought not to have been put in it, and therefore, they will try to get them out of it. (*Laughter.*) That's not fair. Every man that is called upon to administer the Constitution of the United States, or act under it in any respect, is bound, in honor, and faith, and duty, to take it in its ordinary acceptation—to act upon it, as it was understood by those who framed it, and received by the people when they adopted it; and as it has been practised upon since, through all administrations of the Government.

It may have happened—I think it has happened, that instances have occurred, in which the spirit of this instrument has been departed from; in which, in effect, violations of that spirit have taken place. What of that! Are we to abandon it on that account? Are we to abandon it? Why, I should as soon think of abandoning my own father when ruffians attacked him! (*Loud and long continued applause.*) No! we are to rally around it with all our power and all our force, determined to stand by it, or fall with it. What was the conduct of the great lovers of liberty in the early periods of English history? They wrested from a reluctant monarch, king John, a *MAGNA CHARTA*. The Crown, afterwards, violated that Charter. What did they do? They remonstrated, they resisted, they reasserted, they reinforced it—and that's what we are to do, gentlemen. (*Tremendous applause.*)

Gentlemen, I have never felt more interested, I may say, never so much interested, in the course of my public life, as during some periods of the last session of Congress. I could not but persuade myself that we were in the midst of most important events. It was my purpose, towards the close of the session to consider, with some care, the acts of Congress, and the course of the administration during that session, and to express my opinions on them, in my place in the Senate. It so happened, however, that in the fleeting hours of the last week of the session, no opportunity was

offered ; and I therefore announced a purpose of taking some occasion before the public, of reviewing the acts of Congress, during the last session, and of making such comments upon them as, in my humble judgment, they deserved. This may be a proper occasion for fulfilling that duty. (*Great applause.*) But my purpose has been so long deferred, that it has been anticipated. Other commentators have arisen, more effective and authoritative than I, and they have given their comments upon the conduct of the last session of Congress, with an emphasis which must have penetrated the dullest perception. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Gentlemen, the political events that have occurred in the country since the termination of the session, have impressed me with very profound feelings. The results of the elections, especially in the central States on the Atlantic, while they have awakened new hopes and new prospects, have been, nevertheless, of a nature to excite emotions far too deep, to be expressed in any evanescent glow of party feeling. It appears to me quite plain, that no such revolution of public opinion as we have now witnessed, has happened in this country, before, for nearly fifty years. I may confine my remarks, in this respect, to those two great States, Pennsylvania and New York. (*Applause.*) When has such a change of public sentiment been manifested, before, in the State of Pennsylvania, since the great controversy of '99 and 1800? At that period, a very strong political dispute was carried on in this city, as well as elsewhere throughout the State, of which controversy, the election between Governor McKean and Mr. Ross, was one part and one element. The former was elected, and certain highly important political results followed. Since that time, no such an entire revolution of popular sentiment in regard to questions connected with the General Government, as that witnessed within the last year, has taken place. I may say the same, in substance, I believe, of New

York. Since the time of the great controversy in that State, about the same period, I know of no change of sentiment in New York, of such magnitude, and which has taken every body so much by surprise. At the same time, it is quite manifest that these changes have not been produced by effort. The country has been calm, the public mind serene. There have been no mass meetings, no extraordinary efforts of the press, no great attempts of any kind to influence men's opinions. It seems to me that the most remarkable circumstance, qualifying the whole occurrence, is the spontaneous, self-moved, conscientious conviction and feeling of the people, producing this great result. (*Great applause.*)

Now, gentlemen, the question is, what is this revolution? What is its character? For whom, and against whom? For what, and against what?

Gentlemen, I intend to perform the duty before me, this evening, without denunciation, without vituperation: I intend to avoid, as far as possible, all reflections upon men, and all unjust reflections upon parties. But it does appear to me as clear as the light of noon day, that the revolution which has now taken place in the country, in public sentiment, is a revolution against the measures and the principles of this now existing administration. (*Enthusiastic applause, which continued for several minutes.*) It is against the manner in which this war with Mexico has been brought on. (*Loud cries of "you'r right!" "you'r right!" and great applause.*) It is against the TARIFF of 1846. (*Deafening applause.*) It is against that absurdity of all absurdities—the SUB-TREASURY BILL. (*Roars of laughter.*) It is against the duplicate VETOES. (*Great applause.*)

Gentlemen, the present administration is not regarded as the just representative, or the regular successor of any administration. (*Laughter and cheers.*) In its principles and in its measures, it

certainly does not resemble the administration of General Jackson or of Mr. Van Buren—and God knows it resembles no other one. (*Roars of laughter.*) Now we must be just—we must be just to those who, in time past, have differed from us. We must, in some measure, forget the things which are behind. I take this to be the truth, that this administration has adopted a system of its own, and measures of its own, and assumed a character of its own, distinct and separate from what was the character of preceding administrations. I take it to be for that reason, that hundreds and thousands of our fellow citizens in this State and in other States, who were supporters of Gen. Jackson's administration, and Mr. Van Buren's administration, repudiate this administration. (*Loud cheers.*) I think, therefore, that this administration stands alone—I will not say in its glory, but certainly in its measures and its policy. I think it is certain, that the sober-minded and intelligent portion of the community who have, heretofore, sustained what has been called the Democratic party, have found that this administration of Mr. Polk either adopts new measures, not before known to the party, or has carried the sentiments of the party, hitherto received and expressed, to such extremes, that it is impossible for honest and just men to follow it; and that, therefore, they have come out, laying aside the natural reluctance which men feel in acting against the party of their friends—they have come out, nevertheless, and in order to manifest their disapprobation of the principles and measures of this administration, they have flocked to the polls by thousands, and given plumpers to Whig candidates. (*Applause.*) Now, are they right in this? Are they right in supposing that this administration has adopted new doctrines, or carried old doctrines to extremes? Gentlemen, it is perfectly evident to me that they are right; that on questions of vital interest to these central States, and to all the States, the principles and measures of the present administration

are marked departures from the principles and measures of General Jackson.

I will, with your permission and patience, gentlemen, illustrate this sentiment by one or two instances, beginning with that of the protective policy of the country. (*Loud applause.*)

It seems to me almost too light a question to ask whether, in this respect, Young Hickory is like Old Hickory. But it is a great question to be put to the people of the United States, and which has been put, and which they have answered, whether the principles of the present administration, in regard to the protective policy of the country, are or are not, entire departures from the principles of Andrew Jackson. I say, they are. (*Loud applause.*)

Gentlemen, I have not been an advocate of the policy of General Jackson. We all know that he was a man of decided and strong character. For one, I believe that in general, his wishes were all for the happiness and glory of the country. (*Applause.*) He thought, perhaps, that to establish that happiness and perfect that glory, it was incumbent on him to exert a little more power, than I believed the Constitution gave him. (*Laughter and cheers.*) But I never doubted that he meant well; and that while he sought to establish his own glory and renown, he intended to connect them with the glory and renown of the whole country.

Gentlemen, after the passage of what is called, or has been called, the Compromise Act of '33, no great agitation arose on the Tariff subject until the expiration, or near the expiration, of the period prescribed by that act. Within that time, Mr. Van Buren's administration began, went through, and terminated. The circumstances of the country, therefore, and the business presented to the consideration of the President and Congress, did not call on Mr. Van Buren, during his Presidency, to express an opinion



in any particular, or formal manner, respecting the protective policy of the country.

But, I will now compare the opinions and principles of the present President of the United States, as expressed by him, officially, with the principles and opinions of General Jackson, during his Presidency, as expressed by himself, officially. I begin, gentlemen, by reading to you what Mr. Polk says upon this subject of protection, at the last session of Congress, in his message, being his first annual message—and here it is. It will require some attention from you, gentlemen. I hope you will not think me presuming too much upon your patience. (*Cries of “No, no! go on.”*)

I hear then, what Mr. Polk says in his message of last December, on the opening of Congress :

“The object of imposing duties on imports, should be to raise revenue to pay the necessary expenses of Government. Congress may, undoubtedly, in the exercise of a sound discretion, discriminate in arranging the rates of duty on different articles; but the discriminations should be within the revenue standard, and be made with a view to raise money for the support of Government.

“If Congress levy a duty, for revenue, of one per cent. on a given article, it will produce a given amount of money to the Treasury, and will, incidentally and necessarily, afford protection or advantage to the amount of one per cent. to the home manufacturer of a similar or like article over the importer. If the duty be raised to ten per cent., it will produce a greater amount of money, and afford greater protection. If it be raised to twenty, twenty-five or thirty per cent., and if, as it is raised, the revenue derived from it is found to be increased, the protection and advantage will also be increased, but if it be raised to thirty-one per cent., and it is found that the revenue produced at that rate, is less than at the rate of thirty, it ceases to be revenue duty. The precise point in the ascending scale of duties, at which it is ascertained from experience, that the revenue is greatest, is the maximum rate of duty which can be laid for the *bona fide* purpose of collecting money for the support of the Government.”

Now, gentlemen, there are those who find difficulty in understanding, exactly, what Mr. Polk means by the “Revenue Stand-

ard." Perhaps, this is not entirely plain. But one thing is clear, whatever else he may or may not mean, he means to be against all protection. He means that the sole and exclusive object to be regarded by the legislator, in imposing duties on imports, is to obtain money for the revenue. That is to be the single and entire object. He says, truly, that if a duty be laid on an imported article, an incidental benefit may accrue to the producer of a like article, at home. But, then, this is incidental; it is altogether adventitious—an accident, a collateral or consequential result. It is not a matter to be taken into the view of the law-makers. It is to form no part of their purpose, in framing or passing the law. That purpose is to be confined altogether, to the inquiry after that "maximum rate of duty, which can be laid for the *bona fide* purpose of collecting money for the support of the Government."

This is his doctrine, as plain as words can make it. It is to lay such duties as may be most beneficial to revenue, and nothing but revenue; and if, in raising a revenue duty, it shall happen that domestic manufactures are protected, why that's all very well. But the protection of domestic manufactures, is not to be any object of concern, nor to furnish any motive, to those who make the law. I think I have not misrepresented Mr. Polk. I think his meaning is sufficiently plain, and is precisely as I state it. Indeed I have given you his own words. He would not, himself, deny the meaning of his words, as I have stated. He is for laying taxes for revenue, and for revenue alone; just as if there was no iron manufacturers, or other manufacturers, in the United States. This is the doctrine of Mr. Polk.

Now, was this General Jackson's doctrine? Was it ever his doctrine? Let us see. I read you an extract from General Jackson's first message. He says:

“The general rule to be applied in graduating the duties upon articles of foreign growth or manufacture, is that, which will place our own in fair competition with those of other countries; and the inducements to advance even a step beyond this point, are controlling, in regard to those articles which are of primary necessity in time of war.”

What is this doctrine? Does it not say, in so many words that, in imposing duties upon articles of foreign manufactures, it is the business of the framers of the law to lay such duties, and to lay them in such a way, as shall give our own producers a fair competition against the foreign producer. (*Applause.*) And does not General Jackson go further, and say—(and you, Pennsylvanians, from here to Pittsburg, and all you workers in iron and owners of iron mines, may consider it)—does he not go further and say that, in regard to articles of primary importance, in time of war, we are under controlling reasons for going a step farther, and putting down foreign competition. (*Applause.*) Now, I submit to you, gentlemen, instead of putting down foreign competition, is not the Tariff of 1846, calculated to put down our own competition? (*Laughter and cheers.*)

But I will read to you, gentlemen, an extract from General Jackson’s second message, which, in my opinion, advances the true doctrine—the true American constitutional rule and principle, fully, clearly, admirably.

“The power to impose duties on imports, originally belonged to the several States; the right to adjust those duties, *with the view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry*, is so completely identical with that power, that it is difficult to suppose the existence of the one without the other.

“The States have delegated their whole authority over imports to the General Government without imitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation, relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the States, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection, does not exist

in them, and consequently, if it be not possessed by the General Government, it must be extinct. Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry, and to contract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations.

“This, surely, cannot be the case; this indispensable power thus surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress.

“In this conclusion I am confirmed, as well by the opinions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, who have, each, repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right, under the Constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the States, and the general understanding of the people.”

It appears to me, gentlemen, that these extracts from General Jackson’s messages, read very differently from the extracts from President Polk’s message, at the opening of the last session of Congress, which I have quoted. I think that his notion of a revenue standard—if President Polk means any thing by it, beyond this, that it is the sole business of this Government to obtain as much money as it needs, and to obtain it in the best way it can; if he means to say that there is any other object belonging to the revenue standard, which is yet incidental, which may or may not happen, all is visionary, vague, ideal; and when touched by the principles announced by General Jackson, explode like gun-cotton. (*Applause.*) You perceive, gentlemen, that in this Message to Congress, General Jackson addressed himself directly to the object. He says, in raising revenues, consider that your duty is so to arrange duties on imports, as to give to the manufacturer of the country a fair competition, and, in certain articles, to suppress foreign competition. There is an object, a purpose, a motive in protection and for protection, and it is not left to the cabalistic word, “incidental.”

I have said that I believe, that the people of this country see the difference between the principles of General Jackson and the

principles of this administration, on the great subject of protection, and I have endeavored to present that difference, plainly, and in the very words of each. I think they see the difference, also, upon other important subjects.

Now it happened in the course of General Jackson's administration, in very excited times, that he negatived the Maysville Road Bill, one Harbor Bill, and many other bills; but I think that the people of western New York, of Pennsylvania, of Michigan, even of Indiana and Illinois, and all the West and Southwest, think they see, in the exercise of the veto power, by the present President, in regard to the Harbor Bill, of the late session, an opposition to works of this kind, stronger, broader, and carried to a far greater extent than General Jackson ever sanctioned. More of this presently; but in the next place, the war—the war claims our attention. I am accustomed to mix so far as I am able, and as my circumstances will allow, with men of all classes and conditions in life; men of various political opinions; and your own avocations and concerns in life, will have led you to do the same; and I now ask you, if you ever found a sensible and reasonable man, who ever said to you, that he believed, that if General Jackson or Mr. Van Buren had been at the head of the Government, we should have had this Mexican war. (*Cheers.*) I have found none such. Why, we all know, gentlemen, that the President—I have not to settle questions of greater or less worth, or the peculiar claims between gentlemen of a party to which I do not belong—but we all know the fact, that Mr. Polk came into office against Mr. Van Buren. That he came in on the Texas interest, and for a Texas purpose; and we all know that Texas and Texas purposes, have led on to this war. (*Applause.*) Therefore I say, I know no man, of intelligence and sound judgment, who believes that if the Baltimore Convention had nomi-

nated, and the people elected, Mr. Van Buren to the Presidency, we should now have on hand a Mexican war.

The purpose of these remarks has been to show you, gentlemen, what I consider to have been the causes of the great change which has taken place in public opinion, itself; and it is vain for any body to say, that any local causes here, or local causes there, have brought about this result. That anti-rentism in New York and some other *ism* in Pennsylvania, have produced such important consequences, it is folly to say; there is nothing at all in it. (*Laughter.*) The test is this; Do you say that questions of State policy, or State elections only have influenced this result? If you say so, then look at the elections for members of Congress. Members of Congress have nothing to do with these State questions; and the truth is, that elections of members of Congress, in this State and in New York, have been carried by larger majorities than any other elections. (*Cheers.*) These elections have been governed mainly by questions of national policy. There were counties in New York, in which anti-rentism had nothing to do. There were others in which anti-rent influence was as much on one side as the other. But take the test, even in regard to them. I find it stated, and I believe correctly, that Mr. Fish, the Whig candidate for Lieutenant Governor, a most respectable and honorable man—but certainly not a supporter of those who call themselves in favor of anti-rent doctrine—I find it stated, that he obtained more votes for the office of Lieutenant Governor, than Mr. Wright received as the democratic candidate for Governor. That flattering unction, therefore, gentlemen, cannot lay to themselves. There is, therefore, no getting over the result of the popular election, nor getting beyond it, or getting around it, or behind it; nor doing anything with it, but acknowledging it to be the expression of public opinion, against the measures of the present administration.



I proceed to make some remarks upon the occurrences of the session, connected with the previous course of the administration, since Mr. Polk assumed the office of President.

The question respecting the territory of Oregon is a settled question, and all are glad that it so. I am not about to disturb it, nor do I wish to revive discussions connected with it; but in two or three particulars, it is worth while to make some remarks upon it.

By the Treaty of Washington, of 1842, all questions subsisting between the United States and England, were settled and adjusted, with the exception of the Oregon controversy. (*Tremendous cheers.*) I must beg pardon, gentlemen, for the allusion. I did not mean by any allusion, of that sort, to give occasion for any expression of public feeling in connection with my own services. (*Renewed applause.*) The Oregon question remained; and it is worthy of remark, that its importance, and the intensity with which it was pressed upon the people of the United States, grew greater, when every other subject of dispute had ceased.

I do not mention it as a matter of reproach, at all—for I hold every man, especially every man in public life, to have an undoubted right to the expression of his own opinion, and to discharge his own duty according to the dictates of his own conscience; but I hope it may not be out of place to say that, upon his accession to the Presidential office, it pleased the President of the United States to entrust the duties of the State Department, which has charge of our foreign relations, and pending this Oregon controversy, to the hands of a distinguished gentleman, who was one of the few, who opposed—and he did oppose with great zeal and all his ability—the whole settlement of 1842.

The Baltimore Convention assembled in May, 1844. One of its prominent proceedings, was the sentiment which it expressed



respecting our title to Oregon. It passed a resolution in these memorable words :

“ *Resolved*, That our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon, is clear and unquestionable ; that no part of the same ought to be ceded to England, or any other power.”

Mr Polk, in his Inaugural Address, makes the same declaration, in the very same words, with marks of quotation, as if in acknowledgment of the authority of the Convention. Mr. Buchanan, by direction of the President, repeats the declaration in his letter to Mr. Packenham, of the 30th of August, 1845 ; and the President, in his Message to Congress, last December, having made some apology for entering into a negotiation, on the basis of former offers of this Government, informs them, that our title to the whole of Oregon had been asserted and maintained, as was believed, by irrefragable facts and arguments. And through all the debates, in the two Houses, on all occasions, down to the day of the Treaty, our right to the whole Territory was pronounced “ clear and unquestionable.”

In and out of Congress, the universal echo was that, “ our title to the *whole* of Oregon was clear and unquestionable.” (*Roars of laughter.*) The Baltimore Resolutions, in sentiment and in words, ran through all documents, all speeches and all newspapers. If you knew what the Baltimore Convention had said, you knew what all those who were attached to the party had said, would say, might have said, or could, would, or should say. (*Laughter.*)

I remember, gentlemen, that when I was at school, I felt exceedingly obliged to Homer’s messengers for the exact literal fidelity with which they delivered their messages.

The seven or eight lines of good Homeric Greek, in which they had received the commands of Agamemnon or Achilles, they recited to whomsoever the message was to be carried ; and as

they repeated them verbatim, it saved me the trouble of learning so much more Greek. (*Laughter.*)

Any body who attended the Baltimore Convention, and heard this Resolution would, in like manner, be familiar with what was to come, and prepared to hear again of "our clear and unquestionable title."

Nevertheless, gentlemen, the clearness of the title was a good deal questioned by a distinguished gentleman from Missouri, (Mr. Benton) and the end was, I think, a just and satisfactory settlement of the question by division of the Territory; forty-nine carrying it against fifty-four forty. (*Loud cheers.*) Now, gentlemen, the remarkable characteristic of the settlement of this Oregon question, by treaty, is this. In the general operation of Government, treaties are negotiated by the President and ratified by the Senate; but here is the reverse—here is a treaty negotiated by the Senate, and only agreed to by the President. (*Laughter.*) In August, 1845, all effort of the administration to settle the Oregon question, by negotiation, had come to an end; and I am not aware that, from that day to the absolute signature of the treaty, the administration, or its agents at home, or its agents abroad, did the least thing upon earth to advance the negotiation towards settlement in any shape, one single step; and if it had stood where they left it, it would have remained unsettled at this moment. But it was settled. The discussions in Congress, the discussions on the other side of the water, the general sense of the community, all protested against the iniquity of two of the greatest nations of modern times, rushing into war and shedding Christian blood, in such a controversy. All enforced the conviction that it was a question to be settled by an equitable and fair consideration—and it was settled. (*Loud applause.*) And that being settled, there is only one other topic

connected with this subject, upon which I will detain you with any remarks. I would not do this, if I did not think the honor of the country somewhat concerned, and if I did not desire to express my own dissatisfaction with the course of the administration. What I refer to is the repeated refusal, on the part of the administration, to submit this question to honorable, fair arbitration. After the United States Government had withdrawn all its offers, and the case stood open, the British Minister, at Washington, by order of his Government, offered arbitration.

On the 27th December, 1845, Mr. Packenham wrote to Mr. Buchanan, as follows, viz. :

“An attentive consideration of the present state of affairs, with reference to the Oregon question, has determined the British Government to instruct the undersigned, her Britannic Majesty’s Envoy, &c., again to represent, in pressing terms, to the Government of the United States, the expediency of referring the whole question of an equitable division of that Territory, to the arbitration of some friendly Sovereign or State.

“Her Majesty’s Government deeply regret the failure of all their efforts to effect a friendly settlement of the conflicting claims, by direct negotiation between the two Governments.

“They are still persuaded that great advantages would have resulted to both parties, from such a mode of settlement, had it been practicable; but there are difficulties, now, in the way, in that course of proceeding, which it might be tedious to remove, while the importance of an early settlement seems to become, at each moment, more urgent.

“Under these circumstances, her Majesty’s Government think that a resort to arbitration, is the most prudent and, perhaps, the only feasible step which could be taken, and the best calculated to allay the existing effervescence of popular feeling,” &c. &c.

To this, Mr. Buchanan replied on the 3d January, 1846, that—

“This proposition assumes the fact, that the title of Great Britain to a portion of the Territory, is valid, and thus takes for granted the very question in dispute. Under this proposition, the very terms of the submission, would contain an express acknowledgment of the right of Great Britain to a portion of the Territory, and would necessarily preclude the United States from

claiming the whole, before the arbitration, and this too in the face of the President's assertion of the 30th of August, 1845, made in the most solemn manner, of the title of the United States to the whole Territory. This, alone, (Mr. Buchanan remarks) would be deemed sufficient reason for declining the proposition."

To remove this difficulty, Mr. Packenham, on the 16th of January, 1846, addressed Mr. Buchanan, to inquire "whether, supposing the British Government to entertain no objection to such a course, it would suit the views of the United States Government to refer to arbitration, not, (as has already been proposed) the question of an equitable partition of the Territory; but the question of title in either of the two powers to the whole Territory; subject, of course, to the condition, that if neither should be found, in the opinion of the arbitrator, to possess a complete title to the whole Territory, there should, in that case, be assigned to each that portion, which would, in the opinion of the arbitrating power, be called for by a just appreciation of the respective claims of each."

Mr. Packenham proposed a reference to some friendly Sovereign or State, or "to a mixed commission with an umpire appointed by common consent; or, to a Board composed of the most distinguished civilians and jurists, of the time, appointed in such a manner as shall bring all pending questions to the decisions of the most enlightened, impartial and independent minds."

This proposition, also, Mr. Buchanan, in a note of the 4th of February, declines; and for thus refusing it, he says one reason was alone conclusive on the mind of the President, and that was, "that he does not believe the territorial rights of this nation to be a proper subject of arbitration."

Now, sir, how is this? What sort of new doctrine is here advanced? Why, sir, I take it, that every question of boundary is a question of territory—and I take it that from the origin of our Government, from General Washington's time, under all succes-

sive administrations down to the present time, we have been in the habit of referring questions of boundary to arbitration. The Eastern questions, in General Washington's time, were referred to arbitration. Each Government appointed two Commissioners; these four agreed upon a fifth; or if they could not agree, he was selected by lot, and the Government remained bound by it from that day to this. This reference of disputed boundaries to some form of arbitration, has received the sanction of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson and Van Buren, and has always been sanctioned by the Senate and House of Representatives, and people. Now comes President Polk and says that, no question of territory ought to be referred to any arbitration, whatever, however constituted. Well, what does this lead to? How are disputes between different Governments to be settled? Yes—there's the infirmity of human nature. Two Governments, like two men, do not see their respective rights, in the same light. Is there no way to adjust this dispute, but to draw the sword? Who does not see that this doctrine leads directly to maintain the rights of the strongest? (*Cheers.*) Why, let us suppose a question of boundary between Russia and Sweden. There's a dispute about a boundary, or about national territory, which is the same thing. The parties cannot agree—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, holds his right to the disputed territory to be clear and unquestionable. Sweden doubts it—she argues the question—she puts forth her own claim. But the Emperor is an inflexible fifty-four forty man, and still insists that his right is clear and unquestionable. Sweden then proposes arbitration, either to some friendly Sovereign, or to a Board of intelligent, independent, and distinguished private individuals. She offers to bring the matter, for decision, before the most enlightened minds of the times. But His Majesty is of opinion, that a question of territory is not to be made the subject of arbitration—

and what then remains to the weaker power, but submission or hopeless war?

Do not all perceive, that sentiments like these, lead only to establish the power of the strongest? That they withdraw public questions, between nations, from all the jurisdiction of Justice, and all the authority of right; from the control of enlightened opinion, and the general judgment of mankind, and leave them entirely to the decision of the longest sword. I do not think this correspondence has raised the character of the United States, in the estimate of the civilized world. This spirit does not partake of the general spirit of the age. It is at war with that spirit, as much as it is at war with all our own history, from 1789 to the present day. The sense of modern times, the law of humanity, the honor of civilized States, and the authority of religion—all require, that controversies of this sort, which cannot be adjusted by the parties, themselves, should be referred to the decision of some intelligent and impartial tribunal. And now, that none can doubt our ability and power to defend and maintain our own rights, I wish that there should be as little doubt of our justice and moderation.

The remaining topic, and it is one of vast interest, connected with our foreign relations, is the present war with Mexico. As that is an existing war—and as what we all say, in or out of Congress, will of course be heard or read, if thought worthy of being read, in Mexico, as well as in the United States, I wish, for one, to speak with caution and care, as well as with candor, in every thing respecting it. Nevertheless there are some opinions connected with the history of this case, which I sincerely entertain and which I must avow. Now, gentlemen, allow me to go back and bring up in short the history of the whole case. Texas achieved her independence of Mexico unexpectedly, by bravery and good fortune, displayed and obtained in a single battle. Texas threw off the



dominion of Mexico, and for many years maintained a government of her own. That government was acknowledged by the Government of this country, and by the Governments of Europe. Mexico, nevertheless, did not acknowledge the independence of Texas. At the same time she made no effort to re-subjugate, or re-annex the Territory to herself. In this condition things remained for many years.

Here I am reminded of a very strange state of diplomatic things which existed in Washington, not long ago, growing out of these successive revolutions which have taken place in the world during the last thirty or forty years. There was at Washington a representative of Texas, but Texas was not acknowledged by Mexico. There was a representative of Mexico, but Mexico was not recognized by Old Spain. There was a minister from Old Spain; but the present Dynasty of Spain was not recognized by Russia, and there was a Minister of Russia—all recognized by the Government of the United States.

Now I am not about to go into a history of the annexation of Texas. I do not wish to revert to that. I have to say, however, that according to my view of the case, the objections which were urged, and properly urged against the annexation of Texas, had no great relation to any claim of Mexico. They were, first, That the annexation of Texas, was not a fair exercise of constitutional power. I thought so—others thought so—but a majority in the councils of the country overruled the objection. Second, That we had already territory enough, and that there was some degree of danger in extending our territory further than it was already extended; but in the third place—and this was insurmountable in my judgment—that the annexation of Texas was to bring under the control of our government, and make part of this Union, a country



which was then free from Slavery, but which when annexed would become subject to slave population and slave representation. (*Cheers.*) That objection was insurmountable in my mind, and would be so at all times, under all circumstances, and in all like cases. (*Applause.*)

In the fourth place, it was evident, and so was urged, and urged in Congress again and again, that the annexation of Texas might lead to a war with Mexico. These are the four grounds upon which the annexation of Texas was opposed by those who did oppose it. Now, gentlemen, there is not a man in the country who thinks less respectfully than I do of the Mexican Government.

Unhappy, unfortunate, miserable, Mexico, has nothing, and has had nothing that deserved to be called a government. When she broke off the yoke of Spain, and proclaimed herself disposed to follow the example of the United States, and uttered the name of Washington with respect—professed to cherish free principles, a representative government, trial by jury, security of personal property—why, we all hailed her, and wished her well. But unfortunately the result has been, that she has had no true representative government—has had no government under the influence of representative principles. All her Presidents from time to time have been men created through the *pronunciamentos* of the military—a fortunate general of to-day, supersedes him who was fortunate yesterday, and is unfortunate to-day. One military man seizes the government, and obtains what he can from the people, and uses it in maintaining an army—another man to-morrow, makes another seizure of public or private property, and supersedes his predecessor. Meantime the people are the victims. “*Quicquid delirant reges, plectunter Achivi.*” It has been one of the most irregular and bad governments in my judgment that has ever existed upon

the face of the earth. But the annexation was completed. The western boundary was a matter about which disputes existed or must arise. There was as between us and Mexico, as there had between Texas and Mexico, no ascertained and acknowledged western boundary.

This was the state of things after the annexation of Texas, and when the President began military movements in that direction. Now, gentlemen, that I may misrepresent nobody, and say nothing which has not been clearly proved by official evidence, I will proceed to state to you three propositions, which, in my opinion, are fairly maintainable by the correspondence of the Government in its various branches and departments; as officially communicated to Congress.

1st. That the President directed the occupation of a territory by force of arms, to which the United States had no ascertained title; a territory which, if claimed by the United States, was also claimed by Mexico, and was at the time in her actual occupation and possession.

The Texan Convention was to assemble July 4th, 1845, to pass the annexation. Before this date, to wit: on the 28th of May, General Taylor was ordered to move towards Texas; and on the 15th of June, he was instructed by a letter from Mr. Bancroft to enter Texas, and concentrate his forces on its "western boundary," and to select and occupy a position "on or near the Rio Grande," *to protect what, in the event of annexation, will be our western border.*"

That the United States had no ascertained title to the territory, appears from Mr. Marcy's letter to General Taylor of July 30th, 1845. General Taylor is there informed that what he is to "occupy, defend and protect," is "the territory of Texas, *to the extent that it has been occupied by the people of Texas.*" It

appears in the despatch last quoted, that this territory had been occupied by Mexico.

Mr. Marcy goes on to say : "The Rio Grande is *claimed* to be the boundary between the two countries, and *up to this* boundary, you are to extend your protection, only *excepting any posts on the eastern side thereof* which are in the actual occupancy of Mexican forces, or Mexican *settlements* over which the Republic of Texas did not exercise jurisdiction at the period of annexation, or shortly before that event."

This makes it perfectly clear, that the United States had no ascertained title (and no apparent title) to this territory ; for it admits that Texas only made a *claim* to it, Mexico having an adverse claim, and having also actual possession.

2nd. 'That as early as July 1845, the President knew as well as others acquainted with the subject, that this territory was in the actual possession of Mexico ; that it contained Mexican settlements, over which Texas had not exercised jurisdiction, up to the time of annexation.

On the 8th of July, the Secretary of War wrote to General Taylor, that "This Department is informed that Mexico has some Military *Establishments* on the east side of the Rio Grande, which are and for some time have been in the actual occupancy of her troops."

On the 30th of July, the Secretary wrote as already mentioned, directing General Taylor to except from his protection "any posts on the eastern side thereof," (of the Rio Grande) which are in the actual occupancy of Mexican forces, or Mexican settlements over which the Republic of Texas did not exercise jurisdiction at the period of annexation, or shortly before that event.

It manifestly appears to have been the intention of the President, from the 28th of May, down to the consummation of his purpose

to take possession of this territory by force of arms, however unwilling Mexico might be to yield it, or whatever might turn out on examination to be her right to retain it.

He intended to extinguish the Mexican title by force; otherwise his acts and instructions are inexplicable.

The Government set up and affirmed from the first that the Rio Grande was the Western boundary of Texas as appears from the letters to General Taylor of the 28th of May and 15th of June, 1845.

On the 15th of June, General Taylor was instructed to take such a position "on or near the Rio Grande" as "will be best to repel invasion, and protect what in the event of annexation will be our Western boundary." In accordance with, there are, also, the instructions of July 30th, to which I have already referred.

On the 6th of August, the Secretary wrote to General Taylor, "although a state of *war* with Mexico, or an invasion of Texas by her forces may not take place, it is, nevertheless, deemed proper and necessary, that your force should be fully equal to meet with certainty of success, any crisis which may arise in Texas, and which would require you by *force of arms to carry out the instructions of the Government.*" He is then, in the same letter, authorized to procure volunteers for Texas," &c.

On the 23d of August, the Secretary instructed General Taylor thus: "Should Mexico assemble a large body of troops on the Rio Grande, and cross it with a considerable force, such a movement must be regarded as an invasion of the United States, and the commencement of hostilities." He is then instructed how to assemble a large force," &c. &c.

On the 30th of August he was instructed, in case any Mexican force crossed the Rio Grande, "to drive *all* Mexican troops beyond it;" that any *attempt*, by the Mexicans, to cross the river

with a considerable force, would be regarded as an invasion ; and that on such an event, namely—"in case of war, either declared or made manifest by hostile acts," he was not to confine his action within the territory of Texas.

On the 16th of October, the Secretary wrote that, "*The information which we have here, renders it probable that no serious attempts will, at present, be made by Mexico to invade Texas.*" But is still instructed to hold the country between the Nueces and the Rio Grande.

"Previous instructions will have put you in possession of the views of the Government of the United States, not only as to the extent of its territorial claims, but of its determination to assert them."

He is instructed to put his troops into winter quarters, accordingly, as near the Rio Grande as circumstances will permit. Up to this time and to the 11th of March, 1846, General Taylor was at Corpus Christi. The open and decided step was taken on the 13th of January, on that day the Secretary at War directed General Taylor to march to the Rio Grande, and to take up a position opposite Matamoras. In so doing he is instructed, in case Mexico should declare war, or assume any open act of hostility, not to act merely on the defensive.

Throughout the correspondence, it is plain that the intention was to extinguish the Mexican title to this territory by armed occupation ; and the instructions are explicit, to treat every assertion of title or movement on the part of Mexico, as an act of hostility, and to proceed accordingly and resist it.

To show how General Taylor understood the instructions of his Government, it may be observed that on the 2d of March, thirty miles from Matamoras, at a stream called the Arroyo Colorado, he was met by a party of Mexicans, whose commanding officer in-

formed him that if he crossed the stream it would be deemed a declaration of war, and put into his hand a copy of General Mejias's proclamation to that effect.

General Taylor put his forces in order of battle, crossed the stream and pushed on—the Mexicans retreating.

He arrived on the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras, on the 29th of March.

Let me now ask your attention to an extract of a letter from Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Slidell, of January 20th, 1846. In this letter, Mr. Buchanan says :

“In the meantime the President, in anticipation of the final refusal of the Mexican Government to receive you, has ordered the army of Texas to advance and take position on the left bank of the Rio Grande ; and has directed that a strong fleet shall be immediately assembled in the Gulf of Mexico. He will thus be prepared to act with vigor and promptitude, the moment that Congress shall give him the authority.”

Now, if by this advance of troops, possession would be taken on the extreme line claimed by us, *what further vigorous action* did the President expect Congress to authorize ? Did he expect Congress to make a general declaration of war ? Congress was then in session. Why not consult it ? Why take a step, not made necessary by any pressing danger, and which might naturally lead to war, without requiring the authority of Congress in advance ? With Congress is the power of peace and war ; to anticipate its decision, by the adoption of measures leading to war, is nothing less than an Executive interference with Legislative power. Nothing but the necessity of self-defence, could justify the sending of troops into a territory, claimed and occupied by a Power, with which, at that time, no war existed. And there was, I think, no case of such necessity of self-defence.

Mr. Slidell replied to Mr. Buchanan on the 17th of February, saying: "the advance of General Taylor's force, to the left bank of the Rio Grande, and the strengthening our squadron in the Gulf, are wise measures, which may exercise a salutary influence upon the course of this Government."

The army was thus ordered to the extreme limits of our claim; to our utmost boundary, as asserted by ourselves; and here it was to be prepared to act further, and to act with promptitude and vigor.

Now, it is a very significant inquiry—did the President mean by this, to bring on, or to run the risk of bringing on, a general war? Did he expect to be authorized by Congress to prosecute a general war of invasion and acquisition? I repeat the question, why not take the opinion of Congress, it then being in session, before any war-like movement was made?

Mr. Buchanan's letter is of the 20th of January. The instructions to march to the Rio Grande had been given on the 13th. Congress was in session, all this time, in the City of Washington; and why should, and why did, the Executive take an important step, not necessary for self-defence, and leading to immediate war without the authority of Congress? This is a grave question, and well deserves an answer.

Allow me to repeat, for it is matter of history, that before and at the time when these troops were ordered to the left bank of the Rio Grande, there was no danger of invasion by Mexico, or apprehension of hostilities by her.

This is perfectly evident from General Taylor's letters to the Government, through the preceding summer, and down to the time the orders were given.

I now refer to these letters:



On the 15th of August, General Taylor writes: "In regard to the force at other points on the Rio Grande, except the militia of the country, I have no information; nor do I hear that the reported concentration at Matamoras is for any purpose of invasion."

On the 20th of August, he says: "Caravans of traders arrive, occasionally, from the Rio Grande, but bring no news of importance. They represent that there are no regular troops on that river, except at Matamoras, and do not seem to be aware of any preparations for a demonstration on this bank of the river."

On the 6th of September, he writes thus: "I have the honor to report that a confidential agent, despatched some days since to Matamoras, has returned, and reports that no extraordinary preparations are going forward there; that the garrison does not seem to have been increased, and that our consul is of opinion there will be no declaration of war."

On the 11th of October, he says:—

"Recent arrivals from the Rio Grande bring no news or information of a different aspect from that which I reported in my last. The views expressed in previous communications relative to the pacific disposition of the border people on both sides of the river are continually confirmed."

This was the last despatch, I presume, received by the War Department, before giving the order of January 13th, for the march of the army.

A month after the order of march had been given, all General Taylor's previous accounts were confirmed by him.

On the 16th of February, he thus writes to the Adjutant General at Washington:—

"Many reports will doubtless reach the department, giving exaggerated accounts of Mexican preparations to resist our advance, if not indeed to attempt an invasion of Texas. Such reports have been circulated even at this place, and owe their origin to personal

interests connected with the stay of the army here. I trust that they will receive no attention at the War Department. From the best information I am able to obtain, and which I deem as authentic as any, I do not believe that our advance to the banks of the Rio Grande will be resisted. The army, however, will go fully prepared for a state of hostilities, should they unfortunately be provoked by the Mexicans."

This official correspondence proves, I think, that there was no danger of invasion, or of hostilities of any kind from Mexico, at the time of the march of the army.

And it must be plain to every body, that the ordering the army to the Rio Grande was a step, naturally, if not necessarily, tending to provoke hostilities, and to bring on war. I shall use no inflammatory or exciting language, but it seems to me that this whole proceeding is against the spirit of the Constitution, the just limitations of Departments, an act pregnant with serious consequences, and of dangerous precedent to the public liberties.

No power but Congress can declare war; but what is the value of this Constitutional provision, if the President of his own authority may make such military movements, as must bring on war?

If the war power be in Congress, then every thing tending directly or naturally, to bring on war, should be referred to the discretion of Congress, should it not? Was this order of march given, in the idle hope of coercing Mexico to treat? If so, idle it was, as the event proved. But it was something worse than a mistake, or a responsible blunder; it was, as it seems to me, an extension of Executive authority, of a very dangerous character. I see no necessity for it, and no apology for it; since Congress was in session at the same moment, at the other end of the Pennsylvania Avenue, and might have been consulted.

It will be contended, probably, that the conduct of the President was all sanctioned by Congress, by the act of May 11th. It has a Preamble, of which much has been said. I have only to remark

that a Preamble, or other declaration of a Legislative body, cannot create a fact, or alter a fact.

I remember to have heard Chief Justice Marshall ask counsel, who was insisting upon the authority of an act of Legislation, if he thought an act of Legislation could create, or destroy, a fact, or change the truth of history. Would it alter the fact, said he, if a Legislature should solemnly enact, that Mr. Hume never wrote the history of England? A Legislature may alter the law, but no power can reverse a fact.

I hardly suppose Congress, by the acts of the 11th of May, meant more than to enable the President to defend the country, to the extent of the limit claimed by him.

If those who concurred in that act meant thereby to encourage the President to invade Mexico, and to carry on with the whole force committed to his charge, a war of acquisition to establish provinces—to appoint governors—to call elections—to annex new worlds to the United States—if that was their intention they have never said it, and I for one do not believe it was their intention. (*Loud cheers.*) But I repeat, gentlemen, I repeat that Mexico is highly unjustifiable in having refused to receive a Minister from the United States. My remarks on this subject, have been drawn forth by no sympathy with Mexico. I have no desire, God knows, to show my country in the wrong. But these remarks originate, purely, in a desire to maintain the powers of government as they are established by the constitution between the different departments, and a hope that whether we have conquests or no conquests—war or no war—peace or no peace—we shall yet preserve, in its integrity and strength, the Constitution of the United States. (*Tremendous applause.*)

Gentlemen, nevertheless, war is upon us. Armies are in the field, navies are upon the sea. We believe that the Government

ought immediately, in any honorable and satisfactory manner, to bring that war to a conclusion, if possible. We believe that every reasonable effort should be made to put an end to this war. But while the war lasts—while soldiers are upon the land, and seamen on the sea, upholding the flag of the country, you feel, and I feel, and every American feels, that they must be succoured and sustained. (*Thunders of applause.*) They bear the commission of their Government. They are under its order and control. Their duty is obedience to superior command. They are engaged on a foreign service. They have done honor to the country to which they belong, and raised the character of its military prowess.

I am behind no man in ascribing praise and honor to General Taylor and all his forces; (*great applause*) and I am behind no man, and perhaps forward of most men, in the respect and admiration which I feel for the good conduct of the volunteers who have entered the field. (*Great applause.*) We know no period in our history—there is nothing in our annals—which shows superior gallantry on the part of raw recruits, taken suddenly from the pursuits of civil life and put into military service. Where can we look for such steadiness, coolness, bravery and modesty, as in these volunteers. (*Great applause.*) The most distinguished incident in the history of our country—of the good conduct of militia—of new raised levies from amongst the people, is perhaps that of the battle of Bunker Hill. The gentleman who sits by me, though not of years to bear arms, was of years to be present, and to look on and see others engaged in that conflict. He did all he could, he poured his fervent youthful wishes into the general cause. (*Great applause.*) I might go further, and say that at Bunker Hill, the newly raised levies and recruits sheltered themselves behind some temporary defences, but at Monterey, the volunteers assailed

a fortified city. (*Cheers.*) At any rate, gentlemen, whatever we may think of the origin of the occasion which called them there, it is gratifying to see what we can do through the agency of military power whenever the exigencies of the country may require it. We do show, that without the expense or the danger of large standing armies, there is military spirit enough, intelligence enough, perseverance, and patience and submission to discipline, enough, amongst the young men of the country, to uphold our stars and stripes, whenever the government may order them to be unfurled. (*Great applause.*)

I will now leave all topics connected with the foreign relations of the country, and pass to a consideration of some of the subjects connected with measures bearing upon our internal and domestic interests. Of these, there is one of just and great public importance; and another, connected with which, hundreds and thousands of individuals have been made—shall I say it? the victims of the exercise of the veto power. I speak of the Harbor Bill, and of the Bill making Indemnity for French Depredations on our commerce before 1800.

There is, gentlemen, a clear veto power in the Constitution of the United States. There is an express provision, that the President of the United States may withhold his approbation, if he see fit, from a law of Congress; and unless, after reasons stated by him for so withholding his approbation, it shall be passed by two-thirds of both Houses, it fails of legal validity, and becomes a dead letter.

This, in common discourse, we call the veto power. Something like it existed in ancient Rome. But the framers of our Constitution, borrowed it from England, and then qualified it. By the Constitution of England, it theoretically exists absolutely in the

monarch, and without qualification. The framers of our Constitution in placing it in the hands of the President, qualified it, so that if upon reconsideration of the same measure, two-thirds of both Houses concurred in it, the Bill should become a law, the President's negative notwithstanding.

In England, the power of the Crown to negative acts of Parliament, has not been exercised since the reign of William III., nearly two hundred years ; and it has been generally said, that the reason is, that since that period, such has been the course of the British government in its administration, that the influence of the Crown, in one or both Houses of Parliament, connected with the power which the Crown possesses of dissolving Parliament, has been sufficient to prevent the passage of bills with which the Crown was not satisfied, without recourse to the exercise of the obnoxious veto power. Modern commentators say that influence, in this respect, has taken the place of prerogative. The King uses his influence, but never actually negatives bills presented to him. As I have said, our Constitution places the power in the hands of the Executive in a qualified manner. It is good, unless two-thirds of the Houses concur in the measure. Well, rather a singular result has happened from this.

I will not impute to Congress at any time, or to its members under any administration, any liability to corrupt influence; certainly not. But I suppose all will admit that frequently, and especially in party times, party connections, perhaps some little hope of office, some desire to benefit friends out of Congress, may soften opposition to particular measures, in particular men's minds, and may produce something, which if we would talk straight out, we might call "undue influence." (*Laughter.*) It has happened, and if we are curious in such researches, to fix the chronology of



occurrences, we might find instances not very remote, in which persons still members of Congress, but who had failed in their reelection, or were pretty sure of failing, have concurred in certain measures; and then, not being longer called on to serve their country in the halls of Congress, and particularly unwilling that the country should lose their whole services, have condescended to take office under the Executive. (*Roars of laughter and cheers.*) Therefore the result in the practical administration of our government seems to be this: Some degree of influence may be exerted sufficient to bring one-third to concur with the sentiments of the administration; and then the President, by his veto, overwhelms the other two-thirds; so that if the purpose be to defeat a measure passed by majorities of both Houses of Congress, if influence will come in, and do one-third of the work; Veto is ready to do the rest. (*Laughs and cheers.*)

The first victim of the veto power, at the last session, was connected with what is called, though not very correctly, Internal Improvements. It was the Harbor Bill.

I confess to a feeling of a great interest in that bill. Seeing nothing in it, as I thought, but such things as General Jackson's administration had approved, and Mr. Van Buren's administration had approved over and over again, I had no more apprehension that the President of the United States would veto that bill, than that he would veto an ordinary bill for the support of the army or navy. I was as much surprised when it was announced that, probably, he would send us the veto, as if it had been stated to me that he would veto a bill necessary to carry on the Government. But the veto did come. Now, gentlemen, that bill made an appropriation of one million, three hundred thousand dollars, for certain harbor improvements, on the ocean, the gulf, the lakes, and the



great and important navigable rivers of the country. A work of peace, of improvement, of national progress. Something to carry us forward, in convenience and prosperity, and in the acquisition of wealth. Something to make permanent fixtures in the land, that should do us good, and all our posterity for ever.

That was its object. The appropriation was small. The particular objects were somewhat numerous. The amount was no burden, at all, upon the Treasury. In connection with its objects, not worth considering. And yet here comes the veto ! Well, now, what is to be done ? We cannot shut our eyes to what is around us. Here we are. This vast country—with the Ocean on the east, and the Gulf on the south, and the great Lakes on the north and the west, and these great rivers penetrating it through hundreds and thousands of miles, what are we to do ? Is it not, of all countries in the world, that, for which nature has done mighty things, and yet calls most loudly for man to do his part ? (*Loud cheers.*)

Providence has given us a country capable of improvement. It is not perfected ; we are called to do something for ourselves, to wake up, in this day of improvement, and do the deeds that belong to improvement, to facilitate internal intercourse, to furnish harbors for the protection of life and property, to clear up the rivers, to do every thing, all, and singular, which a large and liberal policy will stimulate an intelligent people with abundance of means, to do ; in advancement of the national prosperity. (*Great applause.*) We live in an age, gentlemen, when we are not to shut our eyes to the great examples set us, all over the eastern Continent. I mean the European Continent. I do not speak of England, where private enterprise and wealth have gone so far ahead. But look to Russia, to Prussia, to Saxony, to Sardinia,

every where we see a spirit of improvement, active, stimulated and persevering. We behold mountains penetrated by railroads, safe harbors constructed, every thing done by Government for the people, which in the nature of the case, the people cannot do for themselves. (*Loud cheers.*)

Let us contemplate, for a moment, the Mississippi. This noble and extraordinary stream, with seven or eight millions of people on its banks, and on the waters falling into it, absolutely calls for harbors, for clearing out rivers, for the removal of *snags* and other obstacles to safe navigation. Who is to do this. Will any one of the States do it? Can all of the States do it? Is it the appropriate duty of any State or any number of States?—No, no—we know it is not. We know that unless this Government be placed in the hands of men who feel that it is their constitutional authority and duty to make these improvements, they never will be made; and the waters of the Mississippi will roll over *snags*, and *snags*, and *snags*, for a century to come. (*Great cheering.*)

These improvements must come from the Government of the United States, or in the nature of things, they cannot come at all; and I say that every steamboat that is lost by one of these *snags*—every life that is sacrificed, goes to make up a great account against this Government. (*Applause.*) Why, what a world is there! What rivers and what cities on their banks!—Cincinnati, New Orleans, St. Louis, Louisville, Natchez, and others that spring up while we are talking of them, or, indeed, before we begin to speak of them; commercial marts, great places for the exchange of commodities along these rivers, which are so many inland seas, as it were! And what! the General Government no authority over them—no power of improvement? Why, that will be thought the most incredible thing, hereafter, that ever was heard of. It

will not be believed, that it ever had entered into the head of any administration, that these were not objects deserving the care and attention of the Government. I think, therefore, that the Harbor Bill, negatived by the President, raises a vital question. This question was put in Congress, it has been put since, it was put at the polls. I put it, now, to be the question, whether these internal improvements of the waters of the lakes and rivers, shall be made or shall not be made ; and those who say they shall not be made, are right to adhere to Mr. Polk ; and those who say they shall be made, and must be made, and that they will have them made, why then they have the work in their own hands, (*applause*) and if they be a majority of the people, will do it. (*Renewed applause.*)

I do not know that we, of the east and north, have any especial interest in this ; but I tell you what we of the east think, that we have an especial interest in. I have thought so, at least, ever since I have been in Congress, and I believe all my associates from Massachusetts have also thought so. We think we have an interest, and an especial interest, in manifesting a spirit of liberality in regard to all expenses for improvements of those parts of the country, watered by the Mississippi and the lakes. (*Applause.*) We think it belongs, both to our interest and our reputation, to sustain improvements on the Western waters.

Now, gentlemen, what was the Harbor Bill of the last Session ? What was that bill, which both Houses passed, and the President vetoed ? Here it is. And although this bill had three readings in Congress, and one more when it came back, vetoed : I would ask for it a fifth reading, now. (*Laughter.*) Mr. Hone, of New York, here read the bill, as follows :

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That a sum of money be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of*

any unappropriated money in the Treasury, sufficient for the following purposes, viz.:

- 1836. J.\*—For the continuation of the Breakwater structure at Burlington, on lake Champlain, \$15,000.
- 1836. J.—For the continuation of the Breakwater structure, at Plattsburg, on lake Champlain, \$15,000.
- 1836. J.—For the repairs and working of the Steam Dredge, on lake Champlain, \$9,000.  
For the improvement of the Harbor at Port Ontario, on lake Ontario, \$40,000.
- 1831. J.—For the improvement of the Harbor at Oswego, on lake Ontario, \$10,000.
- 1830. J.—For the improvement of Big Sodus Bay, on lake Ontario, \$5,000.  
For the improvement of Little Sodus Bay, on lake Ontario, \$5,000.
- 1830. J.—For the improvement of the Harbor at the mouth of Genesee river, on lake Ontario, \$10,000.
- 1836. J.—For the improvement of the Oak Orchard Harbor, State of New York, \$7,000.  
For the construction of a Dredge Boat, for lake Ontario and river St. Lawrence, \$20,000.
- 1831. J.—For repairing and improving the Harbor at Buffalo, on lake Erie, and the continuation of the Sea Wall for the protection of the same, \$50,000.
- 1830. J.—For improving the Harbor at Dunkirk, on lake Erie, \$15,000.  
For improving the Harbor at Erie, on lake Erie, \$40,000.
- 1830. J.—For improving Grand River Harbor, on lake Erie, \$100,000.
- 1832. J.—For improving Ashtabula Harbor, on lake Erie, \$10,000.
- 1830. J.—For improving the Harbor at Cleveland, on lake Erie, \$20,000.
- 1830. J.—For improving the Harbor at Huron, on lake Erie, \$5,000.  
For improving the Harbor at Sandusky city, on lake Erie, \$11,000.
- 1836. J.—For improving the River Raisin Harbor, on lake Erie, \$13,000.
- 1836. J.—For constructing a Dredge Boat to be used on lake Erie, \$20,000.

\* J. stands for Jackson.

1836. J.—For the improvement of the St. Clair Flats, so called, so as to prevent their obstructing the passage of vessels from Buffalo, to the ports on lake Michigan, \$40,000.
1830. J.—For improving the Grand River Harbor, on lake Michigan, so as to give protection to vessels sailing on said lake, \$10,000.  
For improving the Harbor at the mouth of Kalamazoo river, on lake Michigan, so as to give protection to vessels sailing on said lake, \$10,000.
1836. J.—For improving the Harbor at St. Joseph, on lake Michigan, \$10,000.
1831. J.—For improving the Harbor at Michigan city, on lake Michigan, \$40,000.  
For the improvement of Little Fort Harbor, on lake Michigan, \$12,000.  
For improving the Harbor at Racine, on lake Michigan, \$15,000.  
For improving the Harbor at Southport, on lake Michigan, \$10,000.
1836. J.—For improving the Harbor at Milwaukee, on lake Michigan, \$20,000.
1836. J.—For improving the Harbor at Chicago, on lake Michigan, \$12,000.  
For constructing a Dredge Boat, to be used on lake Michigan, \$15,000.
1836. J.—For improving the Harbor at St. Louis, \$75,000.
1836. J.—For constructing a Breakwater Structure, at Stamford Ledge, Maine, \$20,000.
1832. J.—For improving the Harbor of Boston, \$40,000.
1836. J.—For continuing the Works at Bridgeport, Connecticut, \$15,000.  
For removing the obstruction at the Crook in the Harbor of Providence, Rhode Island, \$5,000.
1830. J.—For improving the Harbor at New Castle, Del. \$15,000.
1830. J.—For improving the Harbor at Port Penn, Delaware, \$5,000.
1830. J.—For completing the Delaware Breakwater, \$75,000.  
For removing obstructions in Newark Bay, New Jersey, \$15,000.
1836. J.—For improving the Harbor at Baltimore city, \$20,000.  
For the improvement of the Harbor at Havre de Grace, Maryland, \$20,000.
1832. J.—For the improvement of Savannah Harbor and the Naval Anchorage, near Fort Pulaski, \$50,000.

- 1832. J.—For the improvement of the Great Wood Hole Harbor, Massachusetts, \$1,450.
- 1836. J.—For the continuing the improvements of the Navigation of the Hudson river, above and below Albany, in the State of New Jersey, \$75,000.
- 1837. J.—For the improvement of the Ohio River, above the Falls at Louisville, \$80,000.
- 1830. J.—For the improvement of the Ohio river, below the Falls at Louisville, and of the Mississippi, Missouri and Arkansas rivers, \$240,000.
- 1831. J.—For removing the Raft of Red River, and for the improvement of said river, \$80,000.  
For repairs and preservation of Harbor Works heretofore constructed on the Atlantic coast, \$20,000.

Such, gentlemen, (continued Mr. Webster,) is an enumeration of the appropriations of this bill, running along the shores of the sea and the lakes down the Gulf and the rivers; forty-nine objects in all. I notice but one important omission. I think there ought to have been a very liberal appropriation for the better navigation of Salt River! (*Roars of laughter, in which the ladies in the gallery heartily joined.*) Now, this is the bill that the President negatived, and I will shortly state to you his reasons, as I collect them from his Messages, and make such remarks on those reasons, as I may, whilst I go along. The President assumes that these harbors are internal improvements, and because there is no power vested in Congress, by the Constitution, under that specific head, he denies the existence of such a power, altogether.

The course of the Government has been just the other way. The people have not only acquiesced in these improvements, but clamored for them, and they are now, very likely, to clamor again. He continues:

[Mr. W. here read that portion of the veto message, in which the President assigns as a reason for the veto, that several of his predecessors had denied the constitutionality of Congress to make internal improvements.]



I know not where, said Mr. Webster. If he intends to say, that some of his predecessors denied the general power of making all kinds of internal improvements, if that be what he means, why, nobody contends that such a general power as that is in the Constitution. But then the question is, does this belong to any such power? These works are not internal improvements, in that general sense; they are harbor improvements, connected with commerce, and the question is whether, as such, they are not provided for in the Constitution?

The President says that some of the objects provided for by the bill are local, and lie within the limits of a single State. Well I dare say they do. It would be somewhat remarkable if a harbor were found lying in two or three States. (*Laughter.*) It would be rather a large harbor that would embrace parts of even Connecticut and Rhode Island; two of the smallest of the States. The question is not whether the site be local, or whether the expenditure be local, but whether the purpose be general, a national purpose, and object. (*Applause.*)

As well might it be said that expenditure upon the Capitol was local and not provided for, as to say that expenditure upon a harbor or breakwater, which is necessary for the general purposes of the commerce of the country, is a local expenditure made within a State, and therefore not constitutional. The President proceeds to say that the power exercised by Congress was novel.

[Here several sentences were lost in consequence of interruption by individuals in the vicinity of the Reporters.]

The President draws a distinction between improvements for the benefit of foreign commerce, and those for the benefit of internal trade, and that these objects are for the benefit of internal trade only. I wonder, (said Mr. Webster) where he finds any authority



to found a distinction on that fact, even if it existed, which is hardly the case, I think, in any one instance.

The President says that many of these appropriations were made for the first time, for these particular objects. Well, if appropriations had been made for them before, and they had been adequate, there would be no occasion for making new ones ; but the question is, are not these new objects in principle, like those, for which appropriations have been made, very many times. I think they are. (*Much laughter.*) Now let us not be carried away by a vague notion that the Constitution of the United States has no power to make internal improvements, and therefore does not authorize expenditures on a harbor. We are speaking of things not by any general name, not by classification or classes, we are speaking of things by phrases descriptive of the things themselves. We call a harbor, a harbor. If the President of the United States says that is a matter of internal improvement, why then, I say that the name cannot alter the thing, the thing is a harbor. And does not every one of these harbors touch navigable waters ? Is not every one of them on the shore of the sea, bay, gulf, or navigable river ? and are not the navigable waters of the ocean, and gulf, and bays and rivers, are they not all for commercial purposes out of the jurisdiction of the States, and in the jurisdiction of the United States ?

How can it be said that these are within the particular jurisdiction of the States ? Wherever the money is so expended, it is expended within the jurisdiction of the United States, and for purposes conceded to it by the Constitution ; that is to say, the regulation and protection of commerce.

But let us now go to the origin of this power. Let us appeal from the opinions of the President of the United States to the written text of the Constitution ; and let us see what that is. The power of the Government of the United States in this respect, is

expressed in the Constitution in a very few words. It says, that "*Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes!*"

The whole force is concentrated in that word "regulate." Well, Mr. Polk himself admits that the word regulate as applied to facilities for foreign trade, does extend to the making of beacons, piers and light-houses; but his whole message attempts to run a distinction between foreign trade, and trade between the States. But the power over each is given in the same clause of the Constitution, in the very same words, and is exactly of equal length and breadth with the other. If one is denied, both are denied—if one is conceded, both must be conceded. It is impossible to separate them by any argument or logical process, worthy of a statesman's mind. It is wholly arbitrary I say, without the least foundation, to say that Congress may make provision for a harbor accommodation for foreign commerce, and not for domestic trade. Is the latter not as important as the former? Is not the breakwater at the mouth of the Delaware Bay, as important for the trade of Philadelphia with New Orleans, as with Liverpool? and so every where else? Is not our coasting trade one of the largest branches of our maritime interest, and can we yet do nothing for that?

It is strange that any man should entertain the idea that such a distinction could be drawn. I have before me a long list of acts of Congress, of a good deal of importance, as I think, tending to show that the President is mistaken when he speaks of the acquiescence and approbation of the people, in opinions adverse to Harbor improvements. The opinion, both of Congress and the people, seems quite the other way. Here is a list of provisions of this kind, made in Mr. Adams's time, in General Jackson's time, and in Mr. Van Buren's time, for exactly similar objects, and some of

them for the same objects; and I should take the pains, and tax your patience to read this list, if I had not another more convincing statement to make to you and which will close the consideration of this part of the subject.

[Mr. Webster kindly furnished the Reporter with the list, which is as follows:]

*By the Act of March 2d, 1829.*

Thirty thousand dollars for extending the pier of Black Rock Harbor, at the outlet of Lake Erie, to a point opposite Bird's Island.

For removing obstructions at the entrance of the harbor of Big Sodus Bay, on Lake Ontario, twelve thousand five hundred dollars.

For the improvement of the navigation of the Genesee River, in the state of New York, ten thousand dollars

*State of Ohio.*—Seventy-five thousand dollars for improving the navigation of Conneaut Creek, by removing the bar at the mouth of the same.

*By the Act 23d April, 1830.*

For removing obstructions at the mouth of Huron River, Ohio, . . . . .	\$1,880 36
For completing the removal of obstructions at the mouth of Grand River, Ohio, . . . . .	5,563 18
For completing the improvements of Cleveland Harbor, Ohio, . . . . .	1,786 56
For removing sand bar at or near the mouth of Black River, Ohio, . . . . .	8,559 77
For improving the navigation of Conneaut Creek, Ohio, . . . . .	6,135 65
For completing piers at the mouth of Dunkirk Harbor, New York, . . . . .	1,342 75
For completing piers at Buffalo Harbor, New York, . . . . .	15,488 00
For extending the pier at Black Rock, . . . . .	3,198 00
For improving the navigation of Genesee River, New York, . . . . .	13,335 00
For removing obstructions at the mouth of Big Sodus Bay, New York, . . . . .	15,280 00
For improving the navigation of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, . . . . .	50,000 00

*By the Act of March 2d, 1831.*

For removing obstructions at the mouth of Huron River, Ohio, . . . . .	3,480 00
For removing sand bar at or near the mouth of Black river, Ohio, . . . . .	9,275 00

For completing the removal of obstructions at the mouth of Grand River, Ohio, - - - -	\$5,680 00
For removing obstructions at the mouth of Big Sodus Bay, New York, - - - -	17,450 00
For completing piers at Oswego, New York, - -	2,812 92
For securing the works of Oswego Harbor, New York, by a stone pier head and mole, - - - -	18,600 00
For completing the pier at the mouth of Buffalo Harbor, New York, - - - -	12,900 00
For securing and completing the works at the harbor of Dunkirk, New York, - - - -	6,400 00
For completing the improvements of Cleveland Harbor, - - - -	3,670 00
For completing the removal of obstructions at the mouth of Ashtabula Creek, Ohio, - - - -	7,015 00
For improving the navigation of Conneaut River, Ohio, - - - -	6,370 00
For improving the navigation of Genesee River, New York, - - - -	16,670 00

*By the Act of June 28th, 1834.*

For carrying on the improvements of Ocracock Inlet, North Carolina, - - - -	15,000 00
For improving the navigation of Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi Rivers, - - - -	50,000 00
For improving the harbor of Chicago, Illinois, -	32,801 00
For the piers at La Plaisance Bay, Michigan, -	4,895 00
For continuing and securing the works at Oswego Harbor, New York, - - - -	30,000 00
For completing the works at Genesee River, New York, on the present plan, - - - -	20,000 00
For continuing the improvements of Black Rock Harbor, New York, - - - -	12,000 00
For completing the works at Buffalo, New York, -	20,000 00
For completing and securing the works at Cleveland Harbor, Ohio, - - - -	13,315 00
For repairing and securing the works at Grand River, Ohio, - - - -	10,000 00
For securing the works at Black River, Ohio, -	5,000 00
For extending and securing the works at Huron River, Ohio, - - - -	6,700 00
For continuing the improvements at Ashtabula Creek, Ohio, - - - -	5,000 00

And for defraying the expense of surveys pursuant to the Act of the 30th of April, 1824—including arrearages for 1833, \$29,000, of

which sum \$5,000 shall be appropriated and applied to geological and mineralogical survey and researches.

*By the Act of March 3d, 1835.*

For improving the harbor at Chicago, in addition to the balance of former appropriations, - - -	\$32,800 00
For securing the works at Black River, - - -	4,400 00
For continuing the improvement at Ashtabula Creek, in addition to the balance of former appropriations, - - -	7,591 00
For completing the works at Genesee river, - - -	2,390 00
For improving the navigation of the Ohio River, below the Falls, and the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, - - -	50,000 00
For the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio River between Pittsburgh and the Falls of the Ohio, \$50,000, to be expended under the direction of the War Department, and under the care of a Superintendent for that part of Ohio, - - -	
For completing the removal of the obstructions to the navigation of Red River, in addition to the appropriation of \$50,000, made at the last session of Congress, the sum of \$50,000, - - -	
For improving the navigation of the Arkansas River, and for constructing a boat with an iron hull, - - -	\$40,000 00

*By the Act of July 7th, 1838.*

For continuing the improvements of the harbor of Chicago, Illinois, - - - - -	30,000 00
For continuing the construction of a harbor at Michigan city, Indiana, - - - - -	60,733 59
For continuing the construction of a pier or breakwater, at the mouth of the river St. Joseph, Michigan, - - -	51,113 00
For the continuation of the works at the harbor near the mouth of the river Raisin, Michigan, - - -	15,000 00
For continuing the improvement of the harbor at White Hall, New York, - - - - -	15,000 00
For continuing the improvement of the Channel at the mouth of the Genesee River, New York, - - -	25,000 00
For continuing the removal of obstructions at Black River, Ohio, - - - - -	5,000 00
For continuing the removal of obstructions at the mouth of the Huron River, in Ohio, - - -	5,000 00
For continuing the improvement of the navigation at the mouth of Vermilion River, Ohio, - - -	3,626 57
For continuing the improvement of Cleveland Harbor, Ohio, - - - - -	51,856 00
For continuing the removal of obstructions at Cunningham Creek, Ohio, - - - - -	5,000 00

For continuing the removal of obstructions at Ashtabula Creek, Ohio, - - - - -	8,000 00
For continuing the improvement of Dunkirk Harbor, New York, - - - - -	10,000 00
For continuing the improvement of the harbor of Portland, Lake Erie, New York, - - - - -	35,466 00
For continuing the improvements of the harbor at Cattaraugus Creek, Lake Erie, New York, - - - - -	32,410 00
For continuing the improvement of the harbor of Salmon River, Lake Ontario, New York, - - - - -	30,000 00
For continuing the construction of a Breakwater at Plattsburgh, New York, - - - - -	27,500 00
For continuing the improvement of the harbor at the mouth of Oak Orchard creek, New York, - - - - -	5,000 00
For continuing the improvement at Big Sodus Bay, New York, - - - - -	10,000 00
For continuing the Pier and Mole at Oswego Harbor, New York, - - - - -	46,067 00
For continuing the construction of a Breakwater at Burlington, Vermont, - - - - -	50,000 00
For continuing the improvement of the Cumberland River in Kentucky and Tennessee, below Nashville, - - - - -	20,000 00
For continuing the improvement of the Ohio River, between the Falls and Pittsburgh, - - - - -	50,000 00
For continuing the improvement of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers from Louisville to New Orleans, - - - - -	70,000 00
For continuing the improvement of the Mississippi river, above the mouth of the Ohio and the Missouri river, - - - - -	20,000
For continuing the removal of obstructions in Grand river, Ohio, - - - - -	10,000
For continuing the Works at Buffalo, - - - - -	20,500
For erecting a Mound or Sea Wall along the Peninsula which separates lake Erie from Buffalo Creek, to prevent the influx of the Lake over said Peninsula, - - - - -	48,000
For the Improvement of the Arkansas river, - - - - -	40,000

*And be it further enacted,* That the several sums appropriated by the first section of this act, which exceed twelve thousand dollars each, one half thereof, if the public service require it, shall be paid out during the year 1838, to be applied to the objects above specified, and the other half, in like manner, in the year 1839."

I have already placed before you the bill, (continued Mr. W.) the Harbor Bill, as it passed both Houses, last Session. Some of its enactments were read by my friend near me, Mr. Hone; and



now let me add, that I have caused the objects of expenditure and appropriation in that bill, to be carefully examined, and former legislation, in regard to these several objects to be investigated; and now I state to you the result. Here are forty-nine distinct objects of appropriation, in this bill of last Session; and I say to you that out of this list of forty-nine, thirty-three of them are the identical objects for which appropriations were made under the authority of General Jackson, in his time. (*Cheers.*) Well, then, there remain sixteen; and I say to you that, upon careful examination, it will appear that these sixteen objects that have grown up since the time of General Jackson, and which Congress thought proper to provide for in this bill, are every one harbors, connected with the external trade of the country, and, therefore, strictly within Mr. Polk's own rule. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I leave this question. In the free discussions that have taken place on it, in and out of Congress, the argument is exhausted. The question is, whether we are convinced, and whether we are to stand up to our convictions. The question is, whether the great West, so important a part of the country, bearing its share of all the common burdens, is to be struck out of all participation in the benefits which are bestowed upon other portions of the Union? (*Cheers.*) I think not. The question is put already. I expect to hear an answer to it from the North, the Northwest, and the South. But, then, I do not rely upon Conventions at Memphis or St. Louis; I do not rely on resolutions. I rely on the disposition of the people to understand what their constitutional rights are, and then to take care that those constitutional rights shall be fairly protected, by being intrusted to proper hands.

Gentlemen, before I leave this part of the subject, I must say a word upon an important Report made to the Senate at the last



Session, by a Committee, to whom the resolutions, passed by the Memphis Convention, were referred. A distinguished Senator from South Carolina, (Mr. Calhoun) was Chairman of the Committee, and framed that elaborate report. So far as he admits any thing done by Congress to have been rightfully done, and admits any degree of authority in Congress to do what has not yet been done, I concur with him. The rest I reject; for I do not think the distinctions taken by that eminent man, are sound. I regret that it is my misfortune to differ from him.

The report proposes, I may state in brief, that where a river divides two States, or only two States are concerned, these two States must make the necessary improvements, themselves. I do not agree with that; I do not suppose that it is any matter of consequence whether the necessary improvements are connected with two States, or four, or only one.

It is not a question of location—it is a question of public importance. Look, for instance, at that portion of the North river which runs between two shores, both of which belong to New York. There, I suppose, the power of Congress over Governor Marcy's overslaugh farm, as it is called, is as perfect as it is to make a similar improvement further down where the river divides the States of New York and New Jersey. The distinction attempted, as it strikes me, is a distinction without a difference.

Well, having thus alluded in the most respectful manner to the Report of the Committee of the Senate, and not having time to discuss its propositions at any considerable length, I will now, by way of conclusion, give to you my opinion on all this question of the power of making harbors.

In my opinion, Congress has the power to make harbors on the rivers and on the lakes, to the full extent to which it has ever proposed to exercise such power.

That whether these proposed harbors be judged useful for foreign commerce, or only for commerce among the States, themselves, the principle is the same, and the constitutional power given in the same clause, and in the same words.

That Congress has power to clear out obstructions from all rivers suited to the purposes of commerce, foreign or domestic, and to improve their navigation and utility, by appropriations from the Treasury of the United States.

That, whether a river divide two States, or more than two, or run through two States, or more than two, or is wholly confined to one State, is immaterial, provided its importance to commerce, foreign or domestic, be admitted.

For example, the North river is a navigable tide water river, for many miles, while running entirely within the territory of the State of New York. Yet, I suppose the removing of obstructions in this part of the river, is as fully within the power of Congress, as the removing of obstructions in other parts of the river where it divides New York from New Jersey.

I think it wholly immaterial, whether a proposed improvement in a river for commercial purposes, be above or below, an actually existing port of entry.

If instead of clearing out the rocks, and in that manner improving the channel of a river, it is found better to make a canal around falls which are in it, I have no doubt whatever of the power of Congress to construct such a canal. I think, for instance, that Congress has the power to purchase the Louisville canal around the Falls of the Ohio; and that it ought to exercise that power now, if the work can be purchased for a reasonable price; and that the canal should then be free to all who have occasion to use it, reserving such tolls, only, as should be sufficient to keep the works in repair.

It seems to me that these propositions all flow from the nature of our Government, and its equal power over trade with foreign nations and among the States; and from the fact resulting from these powers, that the commerce of the United States is a unit.

I have no conception of any such thing, as seems to be thought possible by the Report of the Committee of the Senate, that is, an external commerce existing between two States, carried on by laws and regulations of their own, whether such laws and regulations were adopted with or without the consent of Congress.

I do not understand how there can be a Pennsylvania vessel, built, manned, and equipped under Pennsylvania laws, trading as such Pennsylvania vessel with New York or Maryland, or having any rights or privileges not conferred by acts of Congress; and consequently that the idea is unfounded, which supposes that when only two States are interested in the navigation of a river, or its waters touch the shores of only two States, the improvement of such river is excluded from the power of Congress, and must be left to the care of the two States themselves, under an agreement, which they may enter into, with the consent of Congress, for that purpose.

In my opinion, the provision of the Constitution which forbids a State from entering into any alliance, compact, or agreement with another State, without consent of Congress, can draw after it no such conclusion as that, with the consent of Congress, two States ought to be bound to improve the navigation of a river which separates their territories; and that, therefore, the power of Congress to make such improvements, is taken away. A river flowing between two States, and two States only, may be highly important to the commerce of the whole Union. It can hardly be necessary to discuss this point. It is sufficient to say that the whole argument is founded on the notion that the Constitution prohibits *more* than two

States from entering into agreements, even *with* the consent of Congress.

This is manifestly untenable. The Constitution extends as fully to agreements between three, four, or five States, as between two only ; and the consent of Congress makes an agreement between five as valid as between two. If, therefore, two States can improve rivers with the consent of Congress, so can five or more ; and, if it be a sufficient reason for denying the power of Congress to improve a river in a particular case, that two States can, themselves, do it, having first obtained the assent of Congress, it is an equally valid reason in the case where five or ten States are concerned. They too may do the same thing, with the consent of Congress. The distinction, therefore, between what may be done by Congress, where only two States are concerned with a river, and what may be done in cases where more than two are so connected, entirely vanishes. I hold the whole doctrine of the report of the Committee, on this point, to be unsound. I am also of opinion that there is no difference between the power to construct a pier, and the power to construct a harbor. I think that a single pier, of itself, affords a degree of shelter and protection from winds and seas ; that two parallel piers make a harbor ; and that, if one pier may be rightfully constructed, it is no extravagant stretch of constitutional power to construct another. In fine, I am of opinion that Congress does, constitutionally, possess the power of establishing light-houses, buoys, beacons, piers, breakwaters, and harbors, on the ocean, the gulf, the lakes, and the navigable rivers ; that it does constitutionally possess the power of improving the great rivers of the country, clearing out their channels by deepening them or removing obstructions, in order to render navigation upon them more safe for life and property ; and that, for the same reason,

Congress may construct canals around falls in rivers, in all necessary cases.

All this authority, in my opinion, flows from the power over commerce, foreign and domestic, conferred on Congress by the Constitution; and, if auxiliary considerations, or corroborative argument be required, they are found in two facts, viz. :—1st. That improvements, such as have been mentioned, whether on the ocean or the gulf, on the lakes or the rivers, are improvements which, from their nature, are such as no single State, nor any number of States, can make, or ought to be called on to make. All idea of States undertaking such improvements is, in my opinion, preposterous. And, in the second place, as all the revenues derived from commerce accrue to the General Government, and none of it to the States, the charge of improving the means of commerce and commercial intercourse, by such works as have been mentioned, properly devolves on the Treasury of that Government, and on that Treasury alone.

I had intended to discuss, at length, the President's veto of the Bill for Indemnity to the sufferers under French spoliations before 1800. I must *omit* much of what I had intended to say on that subject, but I will state the history of it in as few words as possible, so that there may be no mistake or misapprehension.

On the breaking out of the French Revolution, French privateers, for whose conduct the Government of France was responsible, made, and continued to make, spoliations on American commerce. The United States remonstrated, and sent embassy after embassy to France. The French Government repeatedly promised indemnification. Now, the French Revolution broke out in 1793, and between that year and 1800, a vast amount of American property was illegally seized by French cruisers, for which our

Government demanded indemnity. France repeatedly promised compliance with these demands ; but, by the treaty of 1800, France having asserted certain claims against the United States, growing out of the treaty of alliance of 1778, and the American Government pressing these claims for spoliation, at the same time the result was, without going into any unnecessary detail of the negotiation, an agreement between the two Governments, that, if France would relinquish all claim on her part to the fulfilment of the treaty of 1778, the United States would relinquish all claims of our citizens on France, for spoliation up to that time. That was the result of the arrangement between the two Governments. The wars continued. Other depredations were made ; and after the peace of Europe and the restoration of the Bourbons, and, indeed, after the accession of the present King of France, in 1831, the United States, through the agency of Mr. Rives, in Paris, negotiated a treaty with France for the satisfaction of claims of American citizens. The terms were general. They embraced all claims, and twenty-five millions of francs, or five millions of dollars, were appropriated by the Government of France, to pay these claims, and a commission was appointed by the Government of the United States, to whom was left the distribution of this fund. This Commission sat at Washington. Persons brought in their claims. One man said, "My ship was captured in 1801 ; here are my papers ; my loss was \$50,000." Very well ; he was paid. But here comes another, whose ship was captured in '99, and he says : "I have a good claim ; I had a ship properly documented, seized by French cruisers, condemned, and confiscated. Here is the register and bill of lading ; my damages are \$50,000." But the Commissioners say, you are not to be admitted to partake in this fund, because the Government of the United States, by the treaty of 1800, for a consideration useful and of great value to itself, relin-

quished to France, all claims, up to that time. Well, then, these claimants have come to Congress for redress, insisting, that as the Government did, in fact, apply their claims to its own use, it ought to indemnify the claimants, and Congress, at the last Session, passed a bill for their indemnity. Mr. Polk vetoed the bill. Well, this is interference of the veto power with cases of private right. (*Applause.*) Here is no Constitutional question.

What is Mr. Polk's answer? I have said, and I repeat it, that the whole argument is trivial. It wants the dignity of an argument. He says, for instance, "you have been long before Congress; there is no more reason to pay you now than there was near half a century ago." (*Shouts of laughter.*) In the first place, this is not true in fact; for until within less than twenty years it had not been decided that the claimants had no right to call further on France. But suppose it was so. Suppose that these claimants, in pursuance of a just debt, had called upon Congress, from year to year, and been put off by one evasion or another, but had at last succeeded in convincing Congress that the debt ought to be paid. Is it any reason for negativing the bill, to say, that there was no more reason to pay them now than twenty years ago? I hasten to leave this, but will not without making one remark. There are opponents of the Administration who are actuated only by political dissatisfaction and political dislike; but the Executive, by the veto of this bill, which deprives so many poor persons, widows, and orphans of their last hope, has touched the hearts of hundreds and thousands, with something much stronger than mere political dislike. (*Tremendous applause.*)

The next great subject is the recent Tariff, which I discussed at the time it was established, and about which I have nothing new to say. My object is, and has been, in every thing connected with the protective policy—the true policy of the United States—



to see, that the labor of the country, the employment of the country, is properly provided for. I am looking not for a law, such as benefits the capitalists—they can take care of themselves—but for a law that shall induce capitalists to employ their capital in such a manner, as shall occupy and employ American labor.

I am for such laws as shall induce capitalists not to withhold their capital from actual operations, giving employment to thousands of hands. I look to capital, therefore, in no other view than as I wish it drawn out and used for the public good, and the employment of the labor of the country. Now on this subject I shall hand to the gentlemen of the press, a series of Resolutions passed in Massachusetts, which I have not time to read, but which entirely embody my own sentiments.

*“Resolved, That the passage of the Tariff Bill of 1846, adopting new and vicious principles in our revenue system, is a portentous experiment, threatening disturbance and injury to the great interests of the country.*

*“Resolved, That from the first establishment of the Federal Government, two principles have been embodied in our revenue laws; the first, that, as far as practicable, all duties should be specific, as most simple in collection, and most secure against fraud; the other, a discrimination in the rates of duty, with a view to foster and protect the industry of the country, and to invite capital into the establishment of manufactures.”*

These principles, directly recognized in the first act of Congress, in 1789, more fully developed in 1816, and in subsequent acts of legislation, were fully consummated in the act of 1812; an act which, moderating and reducing the protective duties of the act of 1832—an act receiving the sanction of nearly the entire Democracy of the country—was prepared with more labour and care, it is believed, than had been bestowed on any previous revenue law.

*“Resolved, That under this system the whole country has prospered in a degree which has no parallel in the history of nations.*

While the western wilderness has been giving place to cultivation and civilization, the older States have been transplanting and establishing the arts and manufactures of Europe, thus converting the whole country into a scene of active industry, in which diversified labor, mutually exchanging its products on terms of equality, realizes a remuneration and reward wholly unknown in the overpeopled countries of the Old World.

*“Resolved,* That we deprecate the changes introduced by the Tariff of 1846, for the following reasons :

“ We deprecate the change from specific to ad valorem duties, as affording increased facilities for fraud—as setting aside the light of all experience, and the opinions of all commercial men. We deprecate it as a revenue measure, inasmuch as it reduces the revenue upwards of five millions of dollars on the average importation of the last three years, while our war expenditures require a great increase of revenue, and are actually met by an increase of debt in the issue of Treasury notes. We deprecate the principles of attempting to provide for this deficiency by an increased importation of products, to come in competition with our own, displacing and paralyzing to an equal extent our own industry, and eventually producing a great reduction in the wages of labor.

“ We further deprecate the principle of increasing the importation of foreign manufactures, always tending to excess, and to causing the exportation of specie in return, the fruitful source of derangement in our currency, and of embarrassment in all branches of trade and industry. We deprecate the sudden change, as wantonly sporting with the interests of capital invested under the implied pledge of Government for its continued protection. But we deprecate it far more as wantonly sacrificing the interests of labor by opening upon it the foreign competition of the under-fed and over-worked labor of Europe, the avowed purpose of the new policy. We deprecate it as the result of Executive dictation and stringent party discipline, adopted under the coercion of a minority, without examination and without discussion, against the sober judgment of a majority of both Houses of Congress.

*“Resolved,* That the allegation that the protective system favors capital more than labor, is equally contradictory to every sound principle of political economy, to all experience, and to common sense. Whilst capital is considered necessary to set labor in motion, it is an admitted principle that there is a uniform tendency, in capital employed in different pursuits, to an equalization of profits through a free competition. Whilst other propositions are disputed, this is never contested. It is confirmed by all our experience. Every branch of manufacture which has been successful, has been subjected to occasional checks and embarrassments through overaction. The prosperity which has followed the establishment of

the tariff of 1842, has led to new construction and new expenditures in all branches of industry, beyond any former precedent. In fact, we are told by the friends of the Administration, as if in double mockery of their own reasoning, and our apprehensions, that the *manufacturer has more to fear from home competition and over-production, than from any foreign competition which can reach him under the present tariff*. It is, in fact, obvious to the most simple understanding, that the investment of capital in works which can only be made productive by the employment of many hands, is putting capital in the power of labor, rather than in a position to control it.

“*Resolved*, That the assertion, so oft repeated, that the tariff of 1842 has operated as an unequal tax upon the laboring classes, in the manufactures consumed by them, is wholly destitute of truth. Our application of manufacturing industry has always been made, in the first instance, to those productions requiring little labor in proportion to the raw material. In these, the success has been greatest, and it is notorious that, in the manufacture of cotton, wool, leather, hats, etc., the common articles used by the laboring classes, are produced at prices which may defy all foreign competition. Even the cotton minimum, the object of so much undeserved obloquy, is well known to be all but nominal in respect to the lower branches of the manufacture, and that its only actual effect was to levy a high duty on its higher branches, on what may well be termed luxuries.

“*Resolved*, That while the loss of capital by this change of system is sudden and determinate, the effect upon labor will be a continuous wasting disease, with no remedy but the retracing our steps.

“*Resolved*, That the high reward of labour, in all its branches, is the peculiar advantage of our country—is intimately connected with the general diffusion of education and intelligence, and is the best security for the permanence of our free institutions. The protective system acts as the proper guardian of this boon.

“*Resolved*, That while we welcome and approve the repeal of the British corn laws as a concession and benefit to the depressed labor of England, by increasing its means of subsistence, the Government is acting a very different part towards our own labor, in opening its products to a free competition with those of the underpaid laborers of Europe.

“*Resolved*, That the principles of free trade advocated by the modern economists of Europe is founded on a state of society essentially different from our own. It contemplates labor in excess, content with a bare subsistence, and with no hope of improving its condition. It regards only the profits of capital. With us labor is active in accumulation for itself; going hand in hand with capital,

and requiring especially the shield of the protective system against foreign interference.

“*Therefore resolved*, That it is the duty of the Whig party, and of all friends of their country, to urge upon Congress the duty of revising and modifying the existing tariff, of 1846, so that it may furnish revenue sufficient for the wants of the Government, and re-establishing the principle of specific duties in all practicable cases, and of discrimination in the rates of duty with a view to foster and protect the industry of the country in all its branches.

“*Resolved*, That, whilst Massachusetts is deeply interested in the protection of her capital, and her labor devoted to manufacturing and the mechanic arts, it is a great mistake, propagated for party purposes, and received by a too easy credulity, that protection is a local or party policy. We esteem it a policy equally favorable to every part of the country, and to all the States of the Union.”

Now, I will say, at once, that I am for protection, (*cheers*), ample, permanent—founded on just principles; and the next thing I have to say is, that, in my judgment, the principles of the act of 1842, are the true principles—(*loud and long continued cheering*)—*specific* duties, and not *ad valorem* assessment? (*cheering*) just discrimination; and, in that just discrimination, great care not to tax the raw material so high as to be a bounty to the foreign manufacturer and an oppression on our own. Discrimination and specific duties, and such duties as are full and adequate to the purposes of protection. These are the principles of the act of 1842. (*Great cheering and loud applause.*) And whenever there is presented to me any proposition, from any quarter, which contains adequate protection, founded on those indispensable principles, I shall take it. (*Thunders of applause.*) My object is to obtain, the best way I can, and when I can, and as I can, full and adequate, and thorough protection to the domestic industry of the country, upon just principles. (*Loud cheering.*)

And in the next place, I have to say that, I will take no part in any tinkering of the present law, while its vicious principles remain. And, in the next place, I desire to say that, the great responsibility

of the administration, as far as I am concerned, they shall not get rid of, by any tinkering, with a view to particular political interests. (*Great cheering.*) Allow me to say, frankly, ye iron men, and ye coal men of Pennsylvania, I know you are incapable of compromising in such a case; but if you were, and any inducements were held out to you to make your iron a little softer, and your coal burn a little clearer, while you left the hand-loom weaver \* \* (*The loud shouts of "Ho! ho!" and vociferous cheering which here burst forth, drowned the remainder of the sentence.*)

I understand there are seven thousand hand-loom weavers in the city and county of Philadelphia; that their wages have hitherto averaged five dollars a week; that the *ad valorem* duty, as applied to cottons, affects them very injuriously, in its tendency to reduce wages and earnings; especially as the wages of a hand-loom weaver, in Scotland, hardly exceeds one dollar and seventy-five cents or two dollars per week. What the precise result may be, remains to be seen. The carpet-weavers, it is said, may find some indemnity in the reduced price of wool. If this be so, it only shows that the loss is shifted from the weaver to the wool grower. Washington county, Fayette county, and other counties, in this State, will probably learn how this is.

It has been estimated that the value of manufactures in the city and county of Philadelphia, scarcely falls short of the value of those at Lowell; and their production, it is supposed, employs more hands here than are employed in Lowell.

Gentlemen, on the Tariff I have spoken so often and so much, that I am sure no gentleman wishes me to utter the word again. There are some things, however, worth while to remember. Of all countries in the world England, for centuries, was the most tenacious in adhering to her protective principles, both in matters of commerce and manufacture.

She has of late years relaxed, having found that her position could afford somewhat of free trade. She is skilful—she has vast machinery and vast capital—she has a dense population—a cheaply working, because a badly fed and badly clothed, population. She can run her career, therefore, in free trade. We cannot, unless willing to become badly fed and badly clothed also. Gentlemen, for the gymnastics, men strip themselves naked, and for this strife and competition in free trade our laborers must strip themselves naked, also. (*Loud cheers.*)

It is, after all, an insidious system, in a country of arts, attainments, and varied pursuits of labor, and different occupations of life. If all men in a country were merely agricultural producers, free trade would be very well. But where divers employments and pursuits spring up and exist together, it is natural that they should succour and support one another, and defend all against dangerous foreign competition.

We may see, at this moment, what consequences result from the doctrines of Free Trade carried to extremes. Ireland is a signal example. The failure of a potato crop, half starves a population of eight millions. The people have no employment, enabling them to purchase food. Government, itself, is already absolutely obliged to furnish employment, often on works of no great value, to keep the people from positive famine. And yet, there are able men, able I admit them to be—but theoretic men, I think them to be; distinguished men, nevertheless, who maintain that Ireland now is no worse off than if all the great landholders, holding estates in Ireland, and receiving rents from the estates, and spending their incomes in England, instead of living in England and spending there, the money from their Irish estates, lived in Ireland, and supported Irish labor with it, on their farms and about their establishments, and in the work-shops.



What does Ireland now want? What is her cry? Employment, employment! And has it not come even to that pass, that the Government is obliged to employ hundreds and thousands of the people and pay them, and put them on works of very little utility, merely to give them bread? I wish that every Irishman in the State of Pennsylvania could be here to-night, so that I could ask him to remember the condition of the people of his own country, who are starving for the want of employment, and compare that condition with his own, here in Pennsylvania, where he has good employment, and fair wages.

Gentlemen, this notion of free trade, which goes to cut off the employment of men on the ground that it is best to buy where you can buy cheapest, is a folly, in a country like ours. The case of England is not analagous. What is the cry of free trade in England? Why, it is for cheap bread. In England the deficiency is in bread. Labor is limited in its reward. It can earn but so much, and we have Mr. Cobden's authority for saying, that there is a disposition to reduce its earnings still lower. It has, therefore, a vital interest in reducing the price of food. Therefore free trade in England, is but another name for cheap bread. It is not so with us. What we desire for our laboring population is employment. We do not expect food to be cheaper in this country; our object is to make it dear; that is to say, our agricultural interests desire to raise the price of grain; and the laboring classes can stand this, if their employments are protected, and the price of labor kept up. Our hope—and let all rejoice in it—is, that the price of our agricultural productions may rise for the benefit of the farmer. Manufacturers and operators, so long as they get steady employment and good wages, can buy at any reasonable rate. Now, who, of all Europe, imitates England? Nobody, as far as I



know, except Holland and Turkey. Austria, Russia, Spain and France, hold on, to what I call the common-sense doctrine of protecting their own labor.

Mr. Dupin, in the French Chamber of Deputies, said last year, "that the instincts of France were in favor of the protection of French labor." (*Cheers.*) Our American instincts from the first have been very much of the same character. Whence arose all those *non*-importation agreements, soon after the Revolutionary war, but from an instinct, or feeling that the interests of our own industrious population ought to be consulted and promoted? And I happen to have a very important document here, which one of your fellow-citizens caused to be copied and printed in a very handsome manner. It is a *non*-importation agreement, (*loud cheers,*) entered into in this city as early as 1765. That was an American instinct! Here are names to be forever remembered! I perceive amongst them Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, Charles Thompson, the Secretary of Congress, and other illustrious names, whose representatives are still amongst us.

Gentlemen, there is an imputation that honest men ought to resist, which is, that the protective policy aids capitalists, and is meant to do so, exclusively. We hear every day of the great capitalists and rich corporations of New England. A word dissipates all this. A corporation in New England is a form of partnership. Any body enters into it that chooses. Where individuals invest their property to build a mill, they do it in the form of a corporation, their private responsibility still remaining in a qualified sense, and in that way they embark in the enterprise. The talk about rich and exclusive corporations is idle. It is false. There is not one of them into which men of moderate means may not enter, and many such men do enter, and are interested in them to a considerable extent.

Gentlemen, I have already alluded to the great importance of the protective policy in this State and in other States, to the handicrafts : that was the original specific aim and design of the policy.

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution large manufacturing Corporations were not known. No great works existed, though sagacious and far-seeing men perceived, that the application of water power must one day greatly advance the manufacturing interests. At that day, the handicrafts, the mechanics, and artisans in the city were looked upon, as those whose labor it was desirable to protect.

Will you pardon me, gentlemen, for recalling to the recollection of your older fellow citizens, an interesting celebration which took place in this city, on the 4th day of July, 1788.

On Friday, 4th of July, 1788, the citizens of Philadelphia, celebrated the declaration of INDEPENDENCE made by the thirteen United States of America on the 4th of July, 1776, and the establishment of the CONSTITUTION or frame of Government, then recently adopted by ten States.

A procession was formed. The military and companies of the various trades and professions united in it. It was organized and commanded by Generals Mifflin and Stewart, and some other well known gentlemen.

The various companies displayed their flags and banners with appropriate devices and mottoes.

Richard Bache, Esq., on horseback, as a herald, attended by a trumpet, proclaimed a "New Era."

The Hon. Peter Muhlenberg, carried a blue flag with the words "17th of September, 1787," in silver letters.

Chief Justice McKean, and his associates, in their robes of office, were seated in a lofty car, shaped like an eagle, and drawn by

six white horses. The Chief Justice supported a tall staff, on the top of which was the Cap of Liberty; under the cap the "New Constitution," framed and ornamented, and immediately under the Constitution the words "The People," in large gold letters.

Then followed various corps and troops and associations, consuls, collectors, judges, and others.

Then came the Agricultural Society, with its flag and motto, "Venerate the Plough."

Then the Manufacturing Society, with their *spinning, and carding machines, looms, &c.* Mr. Gallaudet carried the flag, the device on which was a Bee Hive, standing in the beams of the sun—bees issuing from the hive; the flag a blue silk; motto, "In its rays we shall feel new vigor."

This was followed by a carriage holding men *weaving and printing*. A lady and her four daughters sat upon it, penciling a piece of chintz, and all dressed in cotton of their own manufacture, and over them all, on a lofty staff, was a flag with this motto, "MAY THE UNION GOVERNMENT PROTECT THE MANUFACTURES OF AMERICA."

The Federal ship "Union," followed next, and after her boat-builders, sail-makers, merchants, and others interested in commerce.

Then the other trades, cabinet and chair-makers, with a flag and motto, "BY UNITY WE SUPPORT SOCIETY."

Next bricklayers, with a flag on which was a brickyard and kiln burning; hands at work; and in the distance a Federal city building, with this motto, "IT WAS HARD IN EGYPT, BUT THIS PROSPECT MAKES IT EASY."

Then came the porters, bearing on their flag the motto, "MAY INDUSTRY EVER BE ENCOURAGED." After them various trades again, and then whip and cane-makers, with their motto, "LET

US ENCOURAGE OUR OWN MANUFACTURES." After them still others, and amongst the last the brewers, with a flag with this motto, "HOME BREWED IS BEST."

[This statement was received with *loud and enthusiastic applause.*]

I now ask you whether these sentiments and banners indicated that Government was to lay duties only for revenue, and without respect to home industry? (*Cries of no, no.*) Do you believe the doctrines of Mr. Polk, or those of the citizens of Philadelphia in 1788? (*Loud shouts of "eighty-eight," and long-continued cheering.*)

Gentlemen, I had intended to make some remarks upon the present state of the finances and the prospects of the public Treasury. But I have not time to present them. I will hand the documents to the gentlemen of the press, and if they see fit they can publish them. The following is the statement referred to.

For the year ending 30th June, 1846, the Secretary of the Treasury will be enabled to present to Congress, a more favorable state of the finances than he had previously estimated.

In his Annual Report at the commencement of the last

Session, he estimated the receipts of the year at	\$26,820,000
And he stated that the actual balance in the Treasury	
on the 1st of July, 1845, (the beginning of that	
year,) was	- - - - - 7,658,000

Making the total means for the year, as estimated,	- 34,478,000
He estimated the expenditures for the same year at	- 29,627,000

Leaving an estimated balance in the Treasury, 1st of

July, 1846, of - - - - - \$4,851,000

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But it is believed that the actual receipts for the year

in question were about - - - - - 29,500,000

And the actual expenditures no more than about - 28,000,000

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If this be correct, the actual receipts exceeded the Se-

cretary's estimate - - - - - 2,700,000

And the actual expenditures fell short of his estimate - 1,600,000

Instead, then, of this balance remaining 1st of July,

1846, as the Secretary estimated - - - - - 4,851,000

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Actual balance in the Treasury at that date must have

been about - - - - - 9,151,000

Being \$4,300,000 more than the estimate. Accord-

ingly, it appears from the monthly statement of the

Treasurer that the balance in Treasury, 29th June,

1846, was - - - - - 9,310,000

But the Secretary will probably not be so fortunate in

respect to his estimate for the present fiscal year,

ending 30th June, 1847.

He estimates the revenue for this year at - - - 25,000,000

And the expenditures for the same period at - - 25,500,000

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The actual revenue for the 1st quarter of the same

year, viz. : from 30th June to 30th Sept., 1846, was 6,782,000

And the actual expenditure for the same quarter was - 14,088,000

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Leaving a deficiency for that quarter of - - - 7,306,000

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If the first quarter be a fair sample of the whole year,  
 both as to the revenue and expenditures, the deficiency at the end of the year will be - - - \$ 29,224,000  
 To this deficiency the balance in the Treasury 1st of  
 July, 1846, is applicable, viz.: - - - - 9,310,000

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And the remainder, unless other provision be made,  
 goes to increase the public debt, - - - - 19,914,000  
 The previously existing public debt was - - - - 17,075,000

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The whole public debt, therefore, on 1st July, 1847,  
 both Stock and Treasury notes, on this calculation,  
 would be - - - - - \$36,989,000

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These are, of course, but estimates, except so far as they are collected from the monthly and quarterly reports from the Treasury. It may be that the receipts and expenditures for the first quarter of the present fiscal year, will not turn out to be a true index to the remaining three-quarters.

We have yet to see, too, what will be the actual effect of the new tariff on the revenue.

And it is also to be borne in mind, that in stating the above receipts and expenditures *no allowance whatever is made for expenses incurred, but not yet defrayed*. The raising of more troops of course enhances the expense of the war, and on the whole it is probable that the deficiency at the end of the year may be \$30,000,000.

It is evident enough, that the country is incurring a considerable debt, rapidly, which must necessarily go on increasing while the war lasts.

Estimated amount of the Public Debt, if the war should

continue till next spring, - - - -	\$100,000,000
Annual interest of this, - - - -	6,000,000
Sinking fund, - - - -	2,000,000
Ordinary expenses, - - - -	28,000,000

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36,000,000

Deduct income from public lands and all other sources,

as estimated by Secretary Walker, for the year end-

ing 30th June, 1847, - - - -

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2,500,000

Leaving to be provided for by duties on imports - 33,500,000

If the imports under the new tariff should be the same

as they were for the year ending June 30th, 1845,

say \$103,000,000, after deducting exports, it is esti-

imated that the nett revenue from imports will be - 23,000,000

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Leaving \$10,500,000 to be raised by duties on in-

creased imports, - - - -

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\$10,500,000

To produce this sum, there must be an increased import of \$47,021,190, making a total import of \$150,021,790, after deducting all exports of foreign goods to be consumed in the country and paid for if we have the ability. The exports of our products, fisheries, &c., for the present year of short crops of grain in Europe, will not exceed \$135,000,000, leaving \$15,000,000 to be paid for in specie, which we cannot spare; it would immediately derange our currency, depress business, and destroy all credit.

If the public debt should reach only to fifty millions, then three millions of annual expenditure will be saved, and the exports of specie on the foregoing calculation be twelve millions instead of sixteen.



I think there will be a great deficiency, and I rather expect that the President will recommend a tax upon tea and coffee. Well, all I have to say is this : there was a majority found in either branch of Congress sufficient to carry the present tariff measure—a measure which has, in my judgment, destroyed the best system that this country ever enjoyed—I mean the tariff of 1842—whether for revenue, or protection, or public credit. (*Great cheering.*) This, there were majorities found to destroy. These same majorities exist. By that act, they struck off five millions from the annual income. They may, or may not—I will not anticipate—receive an equal amount under their own new tariff. Let events decide that. If they do not ; if they want more money ; if they must have more money, they have the same majorities, for any measures which they may see fit to adopt.

If they will take my advice, should they be in want of money, I would say to them, restore what you have destroyed—(*cries of “ Exactly, that’s it,” and loud cheers*)—give us back that system of credit—put, as soon as you can, honorably, an end to this war.

You may have increased your public debt ; give us a good system to live under, and pay under, and we can meet the loss. But if you mean to overwhelm us with foreign importation ; if you think you will receive—as you will not—forty millions of new importations, how do you expect to meet this demand ? It is true, the times favor and support the hope of getting along for some little time, under the present system. The high price of iron in England keeps up the price of that article here, whilst the famine in Ireland, and the general scarcity in other parts of Europe, augment the exportation of American produce.

But, looking to the end, I entertain a confident opinion that the importations of the country will not reach such an amount as will make good the loss sustained by the destruction of the tariff of 1842 ;

and if such importation should take place, and the people of the United States were foolish enough to purchase foreign commodities to that extent, what must be the consequences? Why, that our exports would not pay for our imports, and the country would be drained of specie. This seems to me inevitable; and derangement of the currency, and pressure in commercial affairs must follow.

Gentlemen, I now take my leave of you and of the occasion, by returning thanks to the ladies who have honored me, and all of us, by attending this meeting. If they have not received pleasure, they have fulfilled, so far, the duty and destiny of the sex in conferring it. (*Enthusiastic cheering.*) If the audience immediately before me have sometimes felt that their ears were weary, their eyes, nevertheless, have been always pleased. (*Renewed cheering.*)

They may well rejoice in the prosperity of happy homes, and a happy country, and in the innumerable blessings Providence has vouchsafed to pour upon us. Who is there—are there any—who can look back with more pleasure and honest pride, upon the history of the past? Who is there, in any part of the earth, that can contemplate the present circumstances which surround them, with more satisfaction than one of this goodly land? And where are there fathers and mothers, who can look forward with higher or better hopes for the happiness of their children, and their children's children, than the fathers and mothers now before me? (*Loud cheers.*)

Let us soften political duties and political differences by surrounding them with friendly associations and kind feelings; and while the fathers, and the sons, through successive generations shall, with manly strength, uphold the pillars of the State, may those pillars be ornamented by the grace and beauty of mothers and daughters! (*Loud and long continued cheering.*)

It is impossible to describe the effect of the Speech upon the assemblage, which listened with deep interest, during its delivery, and broke in upon the Speaker with frequent cheers and plaudits. But at its close, the enthusiasm which had attended its commencement, was renewed. For a time, the excitement which pervaded the mass, was loudly spoken, and Mr. Webster resumed his seat amid a storm of plaudits.

The fourth toast was then read :—

*New Hampshire*—She struck the first blow against British oppression, in 1774, and her sons will never falter from the principles then announced by their fathers.

GEN. WILSON, of *New Hampshire*, rose to honor this remembrance of his own State, and, in a brief and eloquent speech, he spoke in behalf of the Whigs of the Old Granite State ; pointed to their acts, and the proofs of their love for, and adherence to, whig principles ; and in the names of Langdon, Starke, Cilley and other eminent and valued men, who were born upon her soil, brought to remembrance the valuable services she has rendered to the Union. Among her statesmen, she was proud to reckon the Hon. Ebenezer Webster, the father of our distinguished Senator and Statesman ; and prouder still to claim to have given birth to the great Defender of the National Constitution. A graceful reference to the political revolution, recently achieved in New Hampshire, brought his remarks to a close, and the frequent cheers of the assemblage, gave gratifying proof of the acceptable nature of what he had spoken.

The fifth toast proposed, was—

*New York*—The patriotic energies of her people have made her the Empire State, and proved that “ *Excelsior* ” is hers of right.

PHILIP HONE, Esq., of *New York*, arose to reply, and spoke briefly and felicitously, for the State he represented.

The sixth toast was announced :—

*Kentucky ! Kentucky !*—Music to the ear of every Whig.

A perfect tempest of applause greeted this sentiment, and Alexander H. Freeman, Esq., a member of the Committee, gave it new force and enthusiasm, by remembering the Sage of Ashland, and offering as a toast, the well applied words—

“ *The STAR of the WEST.*”

It was a sudden, but most welcome demonstration of affection for HENRY CLAY.

The seventh toast—

*Maryland*—Founded by a wise and liberal statesman upon the basis of universal toleration, she stands a faithful witness before the world that our country regards all mankind as brethren.

THE HON. JOHN P. KENNEDY, of *Maryland*, arose and returned his thanks for the honorable mention of his own State, and held the assemblage, for a time, in pleased attention to his declaration, for himself, and for the Whigs of Maryland, in favor of protective principles, mingling with his remarks some caustic sentences, concerning those who oppose this great doctrine of the Whig party. In conclusion, he offered the following toast :—

*The Constitution of the United States.*—May it very soon be confided to the official care of those who will administer it in the spirit in which it was conceived by its authors, in which it was illustrated by Madison, Hamilton and Jay, and in which it is maintained and expounded by Webster.

The sentiment was drank amid strong marks of approbation, and then

The eighth toast was read :—

*Connecticut*—Her spirit is to be found in the East, the West, the North and the South, and every where her children show forth her steady and successful principles.

The ninth toast succeeded :—

*Massachusetts*—There she is—behold her for yourselves—the World knows her history.

This called up the HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, of *Massachusetts*, in reply, and, with an eloquence as pleasing as it was effective, he alluded to the absence of the necessity for remarks upon him, when another son of Massachusetts, (Mr. Webster) had so ably spoken the sentiments of its people—they could not have been more faithfully or more truly represented. Faneuil Hall, the “Cradle of Liberty,” rejoiced to be united to the Hall of Independence, and he felt unusual pride and pleasure in being a participant in the festivity which had called so large a mass of Whigs together. In doing honor to Mr. Webster, they did honor to the Constitution of the United States—for he was and had been its ablest expounder and defender. In honoring Mr. Webster, they had honored the principle of peace ; for he had preserved it, when war was impending. In honoring Mr. Webster, he felt they were giving a renewed pledge of allegiance to the laws and the Constitution, which owed so much to his mighty intellect and matchless mind.

After reverting, in terms of eloquent reprobation of the course of the present administration, Mr. Winthrop closed by offering the following sentiment :—

*Pennsylvania*—May she always prove politically, as she is physically, a link of iron between the North and the South.

This toast was warmly welcomed ; and then—

The tenth regular toast was offered, as follows, and drank :—

*Pennsylvania*—The Keystone of the Union—the wealth of her mountains, and the fidelity of her sons will always keep the Keystone in its right place.

The eleventh regular toast :—

*New Jersey*—While Trenton and Princeton remain, the world will never forget her :—

having been read, CHARLES KING, Esq., arose and spoke a few minutes, very pleasantly and pertinently, in reply.

The following remembrance of the good city of Boston, was the next regular toast :—

*The City of Boston*—Pennsylvania owes her much, for she gave us Franklin.

The compliment to the ladies closed the regular toasts, and the following was drank with enthusiasm :—

*The Matrons and Daughters of America*—“None know them but to love them—none name them but to praise.”

MORTON McMICHAEL, Esq., rose to answer for the ladies, and drew out, by a toast,

HORACE GREELY, Esq., editor of the New York Tribune, one of the tried and steadfast friends of Protection. He spoke for a few minutes, with reference to his favorite subject of “Protection,” and its relation to the elemental theories of government, and the practical well-being of the people. His clear, luminous and logical exposition was listened to with much attention.

“The ARMY and NAVY of the UNITED STATES,”

was offered for a pledge in bumpers ; by Joseph B. Myers, Esq., and drank with loud cheers.

The HON. GEORGE ASHMUN, *of Massachusetts*, spoke, briefly, in answer to a toast, and gave a sentiment, in honor of the HON. JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL, which was drunk with great approbation ; and after some other speaking some pleasant sallies, and interchange of agreeable courtesies,

The HON. DANIEL WEBSTER claimed and riveted the attention of the assemblage, while he spoke as follows :—

I rise, without the permission of the Chair, to propose a toast ; and for this violation of rule and order, I hope I may find a justification in the sentiment, or the fervent wish, which I am about to express.

The Honorable Gentleman, near whom I stand, and who has done us the favor to preside on this occasion, is a native citizen of Massachusetts, but now, for many years, a resident in this city and its neighborhood.

I need hardly say, here, that he is universally beloved for the integrity of his private life, and his amiability and social virtues, while he is highly respected for the fidelity and ability with which he has discharged important public trusts. It has been my good fortune to serve with him in Congress ; and I am happy in this occasion of expressing my high regard for his public principles, and his political conduct.

Of the propriety and grace as well as the kindness and good feeling with which he has, this evening, discharged the duties of the chair, it is not necessary to speak.

I see already, above me, and before me, manifestations of eagerness, to do him just honor ; and therefore, without further remark,



I propose to the *galleries*, as well as to those on the *benches* of the Saloon—

“THE HEALTH OF MR. BRECK.”

At this announcement, the gentlemen all rose, with loud acclamations, and *thousands* of handkerchiefs were waved in the galleries.

MR. BRECK returned thanks. He confessed himself deeply affected by the kind notice and flattering compliment; and hoped he could properly feel and appreciate the honor conferred upon him by so great and distinguished an individual: an honor which called for his grateful acknowledgments, and they were freely and earnestly made, both to him and to the company, who had so cheerfully received the toast.

A thunder of applause greeted this toast, and the whole assemblage rose, at once, to do honor to the respected President of the day. It was a gratifying and deserved compliment, and brought the pleasing festivities of the evening to a harmonious termination, for soon afterward the assemblage broke up.

## A P P E N D I X .

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THE following are some of the Letters received from Gentlemen invited, but unable to attend :—

BALTIMORE, 21st Nov. 1846.

GENTLEMEN :—The invitation with which you have honored me to the dinner, to be given to Mr. Webster, on the Second of December, by the merchants and other citizens of Philadelphia, it would give me great pleasure to accept. But professional engagements, which I am not at liberty to postpone, render it impossible.

Nothing could gratify me more than being present, to witness the enthusiasm with which, I am sure will be received, so distinguished a citizen, by gentlemen of Philadelphia, whose intelligence and patriotism make them eminently competent to appreciate, as they deserve, the invaluable service he has, at various times, done his country.

I should indeed take an especial delight in participating in such a meeting, from knowing that it originated in an instinctive desire, common to every virtuous and honorable mind, openly to express detestation of calumny, no matter where uttered, or by whom uttered, against an American gentleman, in whose unspotted fame the nation has an abiding interest.

But, from the reason stated, I am forced to forego the gratification—and conclude with asking you, gentlemen, to do me the favor,

if a fit occasion offers, to present for me, at the dinner, this sentiment—

“A Statesman who has so served his country, as to elevate his name wherever patriotism is felt or letters known—a magnanimous people will never suffer to be slandered with impunity.”

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

REVERDY JOHNSON.

To Messrs. Churchman, McLelland, Elwyn and others, Committee, &c., Philadelphia.

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WASHINGTON, Nov. 30, 1846.

GENTLEMEN:—At the moment of departure from my residence, in Maine, some days ago, I had the honor to receive your invitation to attend a public dinner to be given by the merchants and other citizens of Philadelphia, to the Hon. Daniel Webster, on Wednesday next.

I indulged the hope that it would be in my power to accept this obliging mark of your favor, and I have not relinquished it, until I find that the duties of a public nature, which called me here, prior to the commencement of the session of Congress, still require my presence.

I am, therefore, very reluctantly compelled to forego the great gratification I should enjoy, in witnessing the manifestations of respect and esteem, which the intelligent and patriotic citizens of Philadelphia propose to show toward a statesman so eminent and deserving.

Cordially concurring in this tribute of regard and confidence, and grateful for the honor of your invitation,

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

GEO. EVANS.

Messrs. Chas. W. Churchman, George McClelland, A. L. Elwyn, and others, Committee, &c.

NEW YORK, Nov. 26th, 1846.

GENTLEMEN :—Your invitation to “the Webster Dinner,” was received just as I was leaving your city yesterday. Nothing could afford me more pleasure than to be with you on that occasion ; and if I can return from Boston in time, I will certainly be there.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

A. STEWART.

Messrs. Churchman, Elwyn, Brown, Thomas, Mercer, and Rice,  
Committee of Invitation.

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NEW YORK, Nov. 21, 1846.

DEAR SIR :—I had the pleasure to receive, on the 17th instant, an invitation from the Committee, of which you are the Secretary, to be present at a dinner to be given by the merchants and other citizens of Philadelphia, to the Hon. Daniel Webster, on the Second of December next.

I beg to assure the Committee, through you, that I am greatly indebted to them for this honor, and that if I could consult my own gratification, I should not fail to be present, and participate in this testimonial to the public character and services of your distinguished guest. My professional engagements, however, will preclude me from enjoying this pleasure, and compel me to decline the invitation of your Committee.

With my best regards to the gentlemen of the Committee of Invitation, and yourself,

I am your much obliged servant,

J. PRESCOTT HALL.

RICHMOND, Nov. 26, 1846.

GENTLEMEN :—I have the pleasure to acknowledge the invitation to the dinner to be given to Mr. Webster, on the Second of December next, by the merchants and other citizens of Philadelphia, with which you have kindly honored me.

I wish I could have the pleasure, also, of accepting it—with great alacrity would I do so—for no one entertains a higher admiration of Mr. Webster than I do ; and no man is better entitled to the cheering and gratifying mark of public approbation, which you are about to bestow upon him, than he is. Few men have devoted so large a portion of their lives to the public service ; and few, very few, have marked that service with such varied and pre-eminent ability as Mr. Webster has. Most fitting is it, then, that he should receive that highest and best reward of a public servant, the grateful approbation of the people.

I regret, however, most deeply, that it will not be in my power to be with you on the occasion referred to. My professional engagements, at this season of the year, do not permit me to leave Richmond.

Do me the favor to present the subjoined sentiment for me, at your table, and be

Assured of my profound  
And grateful respect.

JAMES LYONS.

*The Defenders of the Constitution*—Whether in the field or the forum, equally the defenders of the country, and equally entitled to the approbation of the people whom they serve.

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Boston, Nov. 29, 1846.

To the Committee of Invitation :—

GENTLEMEN :—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 25th instant, inviting me to a dinner, to be

given by the merchants and other citizens of Philadelphia, to the Hon. Daniel Webster, on Wednesday next.

In common with almost every son of Massachusetts, I am highly gratified in observing this expression of respect and confidence, from the citizens of Philadelphia, to our distinguished townsman. Such an approval of the political principles of which he has been the able Expounder and Defender, by so respectable a body of your citizens, tends to give increased confidence in the ultimate prevalence of those principles in the administration of the Government, and in the public sentiment of the country.

It would give me great pleasure to be present, and to witness this proof of the devotion of your citizens to a sound political faith, and of their respect for one who is so faithful and efficient in his efforts to propagate and defend it. I, therefore, extremely regret that, on account of engagements of business, I am under the necessity of declining your kind invitation.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

NATHAN HALE.

Charles W. Churchman, A. L. Elwyn, David S. Brown, Jacob M. Thomas, Singleton A. Mercer, and John Rice, Esqs., Committee of Invitation of the Citizens of Philadelphia.

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LOCKPORT, Nov. 23, 1846.

GENTLEMEN:—I have received your letter of the 18th instant, inviting me to attend a dinner to be given to the Hon. Daniel Webster, by the merchants and other citizens of Philadelphia, on the 2d instant. It would afford me very sincere pleasure to unite with you in paying deserved honors to that eminent statesman and patriot; and I regret that private engagements, of a pressing

nature, will render it impracticable for me to reach your city in time to avail myself of the opportunity.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect, your obedient servant,

W. HUNT.

To Charles W. Churchman, George McClelland, and others, &c.

BALTIMORE, Nov. 30, 1846.

GENTLEMEN:—I am honored with your polite invitation to be present at the public dinner to be given on Thursday next, in your city, to the Hon. Daniel Webster. To be present at such an assemblage of patriotic citizens, as will be gathered on that occasion, for so just and honorable a purpose, would be most gratifying to my feelings, but I find, greatly to my regret, that I cannot leave here at the present time.

I rejoice at this distinguished manifestation of respect towards the "Great Defender of the Constitution," for he well deserves the highest consideration from his countrymen, for his long and great public services, particularly at the last session of Congress. It comes well and appropriately from the Emporium of the great manufacturing and commercial "Key State"—a State that has so long groped in political darkness, but which has, at last, most fortunately for herself, and the whole country, come out into the light of the brightest sunshine.

I am with you, in heart and sentiment; but as I cannot be personally present, allow me to propose the following—

*Pennsylvania*—In her recent triumphant victory, she has acquired a glory for herself and country, that may be registered with the achievements of "Old Rough and Ready" at Palo Alto, at Resaca de la Palma and Monterey.

Most cordially and respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

ISAAC MUNROE.

To Messrs. Churchman, Elwyn, Brown, Thomas, Mercer, Rice, Committee, &c.



GALLIPOLIS, Ohio, Nov. 29, 1846.

Daniel Hadack, Jr. Esq.:—

DEAR SIR:—On my return home, yesterday, after an absence of some weeks, I received your letter of the 13th instant, inviting me, on behalf of the Committee of Correspondence, to a dinner to be given by the merchants and other citizens of Philadelphia, to the Hon. Daniel Webster, on the 2d of next month. I could not reach Philadelphia by that time, if it were even possible for me to leave home immediately, which it is not. It would give the highest gratification, if in my power, to be present, and unite with the citizens of Philadelphia in their demonstrations of respect and high regard for an individual of such exalted worth and ability, whose eminent public services, for a quarter of a century, have justly given him a fame both at home and abroad, not surpassed by that of any other American statesman.

You will please tender to the gentlemen of the Committee, my thanks for the kind invitation which they conveyed to me, through you. And I beg leave to avail myself of this, as a fitting occasion to express to them, through you, the high estimation, in which I have ever held the good city of Philadelphia, for its many virtues, general intelligence and moral worth.

I am, with great respect,

Your very obedient servant,

SAMUEL F. VINTON.

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NORWICH, Nov. 27, 1846.

GENTLEMEN:—I have received your letter of invitation to the dinner to be given to the Hon. Daniel Webster, on the 2d of December next, by the merchants and other citizens of Philadelphia. I regret that engagements made previous to its receipt, will prevent me from meeting and uniting with you in this manifestation of the respect which is entertained for this distinguished citizen. No place is so appropriate as the city of Philadelphia, to

do honor to one who has so ably maintained the great principles on which the declaration of American Independence, and the Constitution of the United States are founded; and no portion of our fellow citizens, with more propriety than the merchants and men of business of that city, can manifest their regard for one, who, in addition to his other eminent public services, has always, and with great ability, supported measures calculated to promote the prosperity, and sustain the business of the people of this country.

With great respect,

I am your obedient servant,

J. W. HUNTINGTON.

To A. Langdon Elwyn, John Rice, C.W. Churchman, Esqrs., Committee, &c.








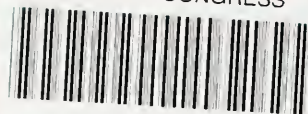




  
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